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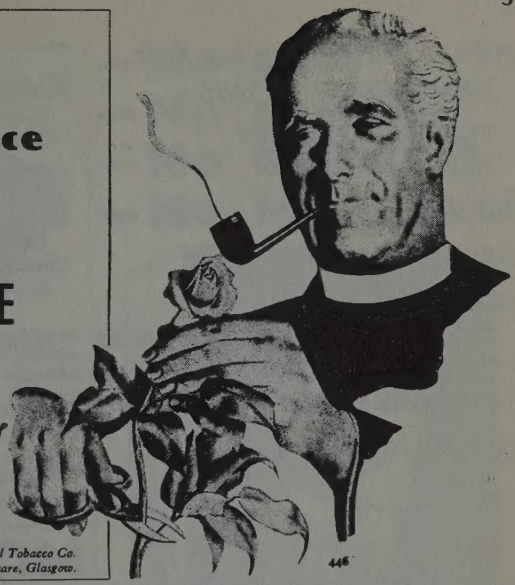

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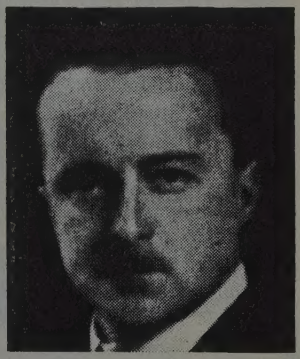

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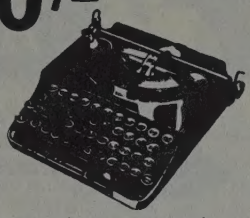

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THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

We regret that Mr. Vernon Bartlett is ill with influenza and unable to write his editorial article this month

THE SACRED RIGHT OF SELF-EXTERMINATION

by DOUGLAS REED

Author of "Insanity Fair" and "Disgrace Abounding"

I WRITE, in Prague, at midday on March 14th, because that is unfortunately the latest date at which this monthly record of events can be prepared if it is to appear on April 1st.

As I write Czecho-Slovakia is dying about me, and the answer is being given to the question that has been itching me all the winter since Munich—what is Germany going to do next, and how will she do it? A stroke is simultaneously being put through another of Mr. Chamberlain's Assurances, that are as dead the day after they are conveyed to the British public as yesterday's newspaper—namely, the Assurance that he received at Godesberg, and "had no hesitation in believing," that "Herr Hitler has no further territorial ambitions in Europe and no wish to include in the Reich people of other races than Germans."

All the winter I racked my brains about Germany's next move. Until Munich everything was clear to foresee, but after Munich this very question arose—whether Hitler would go on and incorporate peoples

of other race, in one form or another, in his Reich. I always believed that he would, and wrote in *Insanity Fair* "I hope I am wrong in this, but I believe the Germans will sit in Prague." But a tiny shadow of a doubt remained, nevertheless, in my mind. Did Hitler, after all, possibly mean to keep to his own racial theories when it came to territorial expansion, would he stop when he had all his Germans? I could not believe it, but put the benefit of this tiny doubt to his account.

By the time you read this you will know the answer. German troops will probably be writing it as I write this; as I tap the keys reports are humming in over the wires that the Germans are going to take Iglau, Brünn, Pilsen, and Maehrisch-Ostrau to-day, and that means Prague tomorrow. Slovakia and Carpathian-Ukraine are to be liberated into German captivity, are to become German provinces, though possibly spared a German occupation for a few weeks.

Turn to the East

But in giving the answer to the great question that arose after Munich, Hitler seems to give the answer to the whole question of the future. With all Czecho-Slovakia in his hand, Poland and Hungary will be as much in the German nut-crackers as Czechoslovakia was before Munich. Both have larger German minorities, oppression-fodder, than post-Munich Czecho-Slovakia, and so has Rumania.

Three days ago I sat in Bratislava and heard over the telephone a report from a man in Berlin, whom I know to be exceptionally well-informed: "Hitler has decided to turn his face to the East." All the events of the past three days go to prove that this was true.

If it is true, as it seems, it may also mean that Chamberlain and his advisers were right—for the nonce and in an exclusively cynical sense. The ulterior aim of the policy which Conservative British Governments have pursued from the abandonment of the League to the abandonment of Czecho-Slovakia, was that Germany should, by non-opposition to her expansion in this part of Europe, be guided to expend her strength and virility in the Eastward drive. To govern the Danubian and Balkan peoples, who have already tasted national freedom for twenty years, would use her up—it was thought—and at the end she would run up against the colossus Russia and Nazi dog would eat Bolshie dog. England would be left in peace, England and France would have time to make good their lag in rearmament, to put their defences in order.

This was the theory, and if Hitler goes so far as to immobilise his people's strength in a conflict with Russia the old men will have been right. But will he? Before very long, now, we shall see.

The Method

Germany has executed her new coup with great astuteness, but then, it is easy to be astute in dealing with small, defenceless and friendless countries. We now know the method that will be followed in each case. Suddenly, you heard that the Czechs, those incorrigible oppressors, were oppressing the Slovaks, and also the few Germans left in Czechia and Slovakia. Soon, you will hear that Hungary is oppressing her 600,000 Germans, Poland her 1,000,000 odd Germans, Rumania her 700,000 Germans, Yugoslavia her Germans, Poland her several million, and Rumania her several hundred thousand, Ukrainians. Everywhere are minorities to be liberated, majorities to be made captive.

I think I have described from time to time in these notes the way the Czecho-Slovak coup was prepared by playing off the Slovaks, or rather one or two docile Slovak politicians, against the Czechs. After Munich, Unionist Czecho-Slovakia was forced to become a State of three home-ruled provinces, Czechia, Slovakia, and Carpathian-Ukraine, with a Central Government in Prague retaining control over the army, foreign affairs and finance. The Czech Government, having done everything that was demanded of it, then hoped for the promised frontier guarantee and for freedom at least within its prison walls, but every time it applied to Berlin it was told that if it wished to find favour there it must go farther and faster in adapting its domestic political life to that of the Reich, and, above all, it must "regulate its relations with the Slovaks and put its house in order."

Simultaneously some Slovak leaders, with the ink of their signatures to the new Federal Constitution barely dry, began to tear up the Constitution by challenging the authority of the Central Government in the three fields which were to remain the province of Prague. They demanded a separate Slovak army. They sent Ministers to Berlin without troubling to inform the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister. In the tiny Carpathian-Ukraine, too, Ukrainian protégés of Germany embarked on Great Ukrainian foreign political adventures which brought Polish and Hungarian protests.

Seeking to satisfy Berlin and "put the house in order," the Prague

Government sent a Czech General to Carpathian-Ukraine who immediately stopped the agitation there. They then dismissed the Slovak leaders and Ministers who were plotting to disrupt the State and appointed a loyalist Government.

Who was behind the trouble was seen when the dismissed leaders fled to Germany and incited the Slovaks to rebellion on the German radio, and when the dismissed Premier, Mgr. Tiso, appealed to Herr Hitler, was sent for by him, and in a telephone call from Berlin ordered the summoning of the Slovak Diet to proclaim Slovak independence under German protectorate. President Hacha in Prague, faced with the menace of an immediate German invasion, had to endorse this demand of the man, telephoning from Hitler's office, whom he had dismissed three days before.

Simultaneously, and with perfect synchronisation, and out of a blue sky, the German press discovered that the Germans living in Czech cities with substantial German populations and in the German-language enclaves in Czecho-Slovakia, such as the Iglau and Zips districts, were being chased about by Czechs wearing horns, cloven hoofs and tails. The German press campaign, which as I write seems to herald a new German occupation of part or all of Czechia, was exactly like that of September. Two of the reports published are fantastic enough to merit record even in an age when the fantastic has become normal. One was that "a Benesh Putsch" impended in Czechia. The second is that which lies before me, as I write, on March 14th, and says that Prague is "an armed camp." Prague does, at this moment, offer one of the strangest spectacles I have ever seen. With the Government deep in desperate conclave all through the night until breakfast time in the Castle on the hill, with the resignation of President Hacha and the Government presumably impending, with a partial or complete German occupation imminent, the population is entirely ignorant of what is afoot. The people are calmly going about their daily occupations. No single sign offers that anything untoward is going on. You might drive about Prague for hours and not see a soldier. The city is dying but doesn't know it.

Bratislava is different. There, two days ago, I found exactly the same atmosphere that I found in Berlin on January 30th, 1933, in Linz on March 6th, 1938, in Vienna on March 11th, 1938. Storm Troops, German and Slovak, in control, young men armed with rifles marching about, the trains packed with Jews fleeing to Prague, the crash of

breaking windows, mysterious and unidentifiable shots and explosions in the night, the German headquarters full of armed young men, the opposite bank of the Danube, which is German, ominously still and empty of life, the whole town filled with that indescribable feeling, compounded of fear, expectation, and exaltation, that portends a Fascist triumph or a German invasion.

Well, there it is, and already the German newspapers bring the first smug comments from England and France, the pledged guarantors of the State they ordered to be dismembered—"no concern of ours," "we do not intend to play the policeman in Europe," "we have given no guarantee," and the like. Instructive to think now that the Archbishop of Canterbury, applauding Munich, said the guarantee "made an immense difference." Or rather, not instructive.

It has been a month full of interest. For me, one of the most remarkable things in it was the statement of the British Secretary of State for War that England would send 19 divisions to the Continent in any war in which she took part. This indication that the flower of a new British generation may be sent to die on the European mainland seemed to be received in England with complete calm—or was it apathy?

To me it is hair-raising, and makes more inexplicable than ever the lunatic question, "Do you want to fight for the Czechs?" by means of which so many English people justified Munich to themselves. Because

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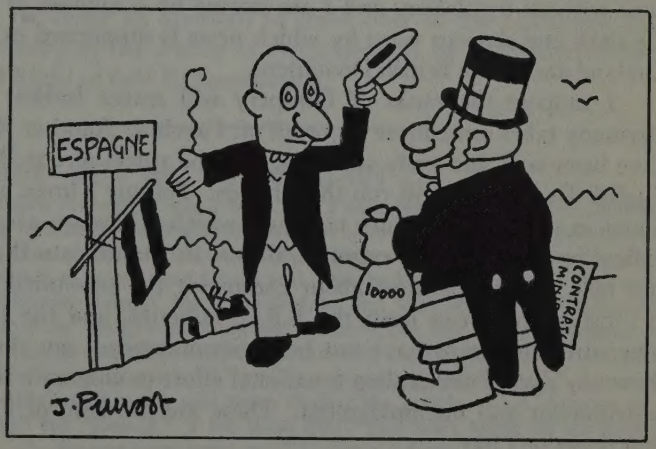
TOUJOURS LA POLITESSE

"After you, sir!"



"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

the Czechs, before Munich, had 20 peacetime divisions, and 42 divisions on mobilisation. That seems to me a fairly simple sum in arithmetic. If we had let the Czechs fight for us we should presumably not have needed to send an army to the Continent, since what we can send is at the most less than half what the Czechs had. By saving the Czechs, apparently, we should have saved our new generation. Is there somebody in England who wants that generation to perish, or is it just lunacy?

False News with a Difference

Another thing that interested me in the past month was Mr. Chamberlain's reproof to newspapers that publish false news about foreign affairs. I heartily agreed with this, and assumed that Mr. Chamberlain's attention had been called to a statement in *The Times* that the Spanish Republican Government was an offshoot of Moscow, and to a statement made in a provincial English newspaper by one of Mr. Chamberlain's followers, Mr. Beverley Baxter, that the Spanish Republican authorities had murdered 100,000 people before Franco made his rising. Both these statements were false and seem to me dangerous. But an acquaintance of mine, called de Bunker, tells me that he thinks Mr. Chamberlain's allusion was intended exclusively to refer to news published about Italy and Germany. Can this be true?

However, Mr. Chamberlain added that he did not contemplate "legislation" for the control of the press. A great deal, however, is being done without legislation, and I am storing up a number of instances of the dark and devious ways by which news is suppressed or coloured in England and in the British Dominions.

I suppose the ranks of Blimpery will scarce forbear to cheer if Germany takes some more of, or all of, Czechia. Another Red Plot will have been well and truly scotched, and the rulers of our Pluto-Fascist-English-Democracy will rub their hands. Tommy Times, as I see, continues in its correspondence columns, which nowadays are much more indicative than its news columns, to put its thumb into the Fascist pie and take out the plums—labour camps for the unwanted, elimination of "disturbing" news from the B.B.C. bulletins, and the like. As yet, concentration camps have not been recommended, nor do the Blimps show any sign of demanding a national effort to eliminate slums, undernourishment and unemployment. These are the kind of Fascist plums that they don't like.

Among the relatively minor incidents of the month that I find of interest—minor as things go in these times—is the struggle for rehabilitation of Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Of all the Nazi leaders, Hitler and Goering are the only two who really register indelibly. Some distance behind them, and not so clear, is Goebbels. All the others are background figures.

For long I have been chasing a story, with which most people are familiar and which I don't need now to repeat, about Dr. Goebbels, that went around some months ago. At long last I have learned that it is true, that the episode in question brought Dr. Goebbels into deep disfavour with his Führer, and came near to effecting his disappearance from the German front-rank. Only the long record of his service, the thought of the glee that would be caused to enemies of the regime, and his repentance caused it to be overlooked. Now he is fighting with all his strength to climb back to favour. He writes enormously long articles in the *Völkischer Beobachter,* in the pictures he is seen once more making speeches and visiting exhibitions, though without his former broad smile, and the signs are that he is gradually reinstating himself.

Well, and that's March, that was. I think Hitler must have read about the Ides of March somewhere and has the idea on the brain. The Policy of Abasement—sorry, I am transcribing these notes from shorthand, and the outlines for "appeasement" and "abasement" are so similar—the Policy of Appeasement is moving fast. Poland, Hungary and Rumania now join the appeasement queue. I only hope it will never be necessary for those 19 divisions to come over to the Continent and ensure the victory of the Policy of Appeasement by Non-Intervention in the Sacred Right of Self-Extermination.

THE OPTIMIST AND MR. CHAMBERLAIN

My only reason for writing this letter is that I have been, am, and shall continue to be, a strong optimist; which means that I wholly believe in the honesty and wisdom of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax. I live and work in Oxford, a place which is always full of many good brains and some bad opinions. I find that most of my Oxford friends support Mr. Chamberlain, but that very few of them are optimists. What is the use of supporting Mr. Chamberlain and being a pessimist at the same time? I try to encourage my pessimist friends. I quote phrases to them, such as "the way of the transgressor is hard," and "man's unconquerable mind." I remind them of what Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. I ask them to substitute "bombing" for "fooling." I tell them that "You can't bomb all the people all the time. . . ."—Extract from letter to *"The Times,"* from Mr. J. C. B. Gawlen.

THE DEMOCRACIES WITH BAGS

FALSE SHAME

"No entrance by the back door."

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

"Die Weltwoche," Zurich

"Le Canard Enchainé" *Paris*

"Excuse me, ambassador to Rome or Burgos?"

THE NEW GEOMETRY

WOO FRANCO OF GOLD

"Il Trovaso del Idee" *Roma*

BUSINESS IS BUSINESS

"Kladderadatsch" *Berlin*

"How could you ever have doubted my love!"

"Le Canard Enchainé" *Paris*

MARSHAL PETAIN, AMBASSADOR AT BURGOS

General Franco: "You tell me about your defence of Verdun in 1916 and I will tell you about my captures of Madrid in '36, '37, '38 and '39."

"Le Canard Enchainé" *Paris*

"Marshal, is he? Goodness, what rebellions *he* must have led!"

THE OPEN FORUM

TOTALITARIAN MAN-IN-THE-STREET

GERMANY LOOKS AT ENGLAND

by H. POWYS GREENWOOD

There is an idea current in democratic countries that dictators ignore public opinion in their own lands, while being influenced in the right direction by public indignation abroad. The contrary is true; and for this reason knowledge of what the average German thinks is of extreme importance. There are all too few Englishmen who go to Germany with the equipment of Mr. Powys Greenwood, who lived there for a considerable time, and speaks the language perfectly. He has also closely studied the genesis of the National Socialist movement, and is the author of an account of its rise to power, called "The German Revolution." We are glad to publish his article, while reminding our readers that we do not necessarily share the views expressed by contributors to this section. Four days after Mr. Greenwood wrote the following, Czecho-Slovakia was seized and the writer added the postscript which appears at the end of this article

THE other day a British artist, Mr. Philip Connard, wrote a letter to *The Times* suggesting that an exhibition of German art should be held in London, and the proposal was taken up by other eminent figures in the artistic world. This morning I have been reading a report in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* welcoming the idea in terms which seem to me significant of the whole attitude of modern Germany towards Great Britain.

Under the heading "Is England changing her Point of View?" the writer says that now at last people in England are beginning to realise that apart from Dürer and Holbein there exists some German art worth

paying attention to. Even the French, with their egotistical outlook, had discovered Grünewald and Leibl, but virtually since Henry VIII nobody in England had worried about what went on beyond the Rhine. But better late than never, and now "the interest in the Germany of to-day is being extended to the past and its art."

No one can begin to understand Germany who does not realise the deep-rooted feeling of virtually every German that his country has never been properly appreciated or understood by Europe in general and England in particular. That feeling can be traced back for a century at least, and it has never been stronger than it is to-day. To the vast majority of Germans the Nazi revolution and its results mean not merely the recovery of national self-respect and self-confidence after the humiliation of 1918, but represent above all a real contribution to the advance of civilisation as a whole. As thinking Nazis are fond of putting it, just as the French Revolution dominated political and social development during the nineteenth century, so the German Revolution will influence trends in the twentieth, and the admittedly unpleasant aspects of the German Revolution are, like those of the French Revolution, merely the inevitable concomitants of revolution as such. But when Germans look abroad, they find the attention of Press and public concentrated on the unpleasant aspects, with a general tendency to deny the value and validity of National Socialist achievements, all of which reinforces their feeling that Germany is misunderstood.

Criticism Resented

This attitude is clearly shown in the utterances of leading Nazis, from Herr Hitler downwards. Criticism is bitterly resented, the invariable reply being to point to the deficiencies of the critics, comparing these with the successes of National Socialism; and it is wholly mistaken to imagine that the German people as a whole do not support their leaders in this respect. If one criticises German economic methods, for example, almost any German will reply that the democratic countries have been singularly unsuccessful in dealing with depression and unemployment, whereas Germany has a trade boom and a shortage of labour. To allegations of inhumanity towards the Jews and others, the German retaliates by pointing to Palestine, India, and Ireland under the Black and Tans, adding that at any rate the Nazi revolution has secured domestic peace in Germany, which is more than can be said of British methods in Palestine.

To suggestions that Christian denominations are oppressed, the usual answer is that the democracies tolerate atheistic Communism and the anti-God movement which, as Russia and Republican Spain have shown, constitute a far greater menace to Christianity than anything the Nazis have done. And finally, if one points to German rearmament as the beginning of the arms race, one is told, not without justice, that the Allies refused to disarm for fifteen years, until disarmed Germany took the law into her own hands.

The fact is that public criticism of Nazi Germany in the democratic countries wholly misses its mark, and merely creates ill-feeling. It increases, moreover, the German sense of being misunderstood, and generally has precisely the opposite effect of what is intended. This morning, for instance, I was talking to a well-known figure in the Confessional Church movement, who has recently been in England endeavouring to *prevent* leading sympathisers with Dr. Niemoeller from presenting a signed petition to Herr Hitler on his behalf. As he pointed out, nothing would be so likely to lengthen the duration of Dr. Niemoeller's confinement or to harm his cause as action of this kind, which at once introduces the question of foreign interference.

"L'Oeuvre" *Paris*

MUSSOLINI RECALLS ITALIANS FROM FRANCE

The Italian Grocer: "Here's my little bill." "Oh! You are not thinking of quitting this democratic hell, are you, by any chance?"

New York Times

WORLD CONDEMNATION

Kaiser: "I laughed at that in 1914, too."

It is not without significance that nothing arouses German resentment so much as the statement that German policy is likely to lead to war. There are, of course, two ways of looking at this. It may be said that the accusation is near the truth, and therefore causes Germans to "protest too much," while on the other hand it can be taken as justifiable anger at a false imputation and a sign of sincerely pacific intentions. I believe the truth to be that the average German is passionately anxious for peace, but is sometimes assailed by qualms about the policies of his leaders. Nothing will induce him to admit this, however, and he puts his faith in the Führer's sincerity. Since this faith is a psychological necessity for the vast majority of Germans, attempts to undermine it from outside only increase their passionate attachment to it and strengthen their wishful thinking in this respect.

During the September crisis a leading London columnist—I think it was Atticus in the *Sunday Times*—referred to a speech of Joseph Chamberlain's concerning his negotiations with Krüger. Joseph Chamberlain explained to the House of Commons that he had negotiated on the basis of Krüger's magnanimity and sincerity, quoting Goethe to the effect that "if you want a man to be what you want him to be you must express your belief that he is so."

Affection for Mr. Chamberlain

That principle helped the Prime Minister to secure peace at Munich. By expressing his belief in the sincerity of Herr Hitler's will to peace and acting accordingly, he reinforced that will, and at the same time struck an overwhelmingly responsive chord of opinion in the German people as a whole, which played a large part in the final decision. There can be no question that Mr. Chamberlain's attitude during the crisis won him the respect and affection of the vast majority of Germans. At last, they felt, there was a man at the helm in England who understood Germany and was prepared to treat her fairly. The result was a great wave of optimism not merely among the friends of England but among virtually all thinking Germans. Munich and the Anglo-German declaration, they hoped, would be followed by a general Anglo-German settlement and real progress towards mutual understanding.

To-day this feeling has been succeeded by a growing disillusionment. The first shock came when it was realised that many people in England

regarded Munich as a humiliation. Why should England feel humiliated when she had merely given justice to Germany? The obvious implication was that that justice had been given unwillingly, and in that case there was little prospect of Anglo-German understanding. It is interesting to note that the disappointment at this conclusion, which has subsequently been strengthened by British rearmament and its attendant propaganda, far outweighs any satisfaction at the fact that German armaments were strong enough to compel the democracies to give way. In fact, I have been surprised to find this point of view, which one might expect to appeal to a "militaristic" nation, scarcely mentioned. Munich has given rise to little or no sense of triumph, except perhaps to some sections of Party opinion; the general attitude is confined to relief that war was avoided, coupled with a general feeling of satisfaction that Germany is at last secure and free.

The other evening I was asked to speak at an informal debate on Anglo-German relations. The opening talk was given by Dr. Silex of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, one of the three or four leading journalists in the country. Dr. Silex set out to explain the British reaction to Munich and the intensification of British rearmament. He had been in England in October, he said, and had had lively discussions with leading Parliamentary figures and others. Nearly everybody had been prepared to admit the justice of the German claim to the Sudeten territories, and even to recognise as inevitable the resulting change in

INCOME TAX

"Have you any dependents?"

"Yes, two 35,000 ton battleships and 100 aeroplanes a year."

"L'Oeuvre," Paris

the whole balance of political and economic power east of the Rhine. What had so profoundly disturbed British public opinion had been not the results of Munich but the sudden realisation that, in view of the state of her armaments, Britain had had no choice in the matter. For the first time for generations, British diplomacy had been tied and not free. That had been the real "humiliation" of which so much was heard on the other side of the North Sea, and the British people had determined that it should not occur again.

Munich "Humiliation"

In my own contribution to the discussion I queried the use of the word "humiliation," and suggested that it was confined almost exclusively to Left-Wing circles. But I agreed that we had suddenly woken up from out post-war dream to find that our foreign policy was no longer free. While at Munich the German demands had been fundamentally just, at some future date we might be presented with demands that were not just, and find ourselves in the same position of being unable to negotiate truly. In that sense we felt insecure, just as the German people had felt insecure when they were disarmed and thus unable to make their influence felt in foreign affairs, even though we might not be any more directly threatened than Germany had been. We wanted to give justice to Germany, but we wanted to be free to discuss what justice meant, and if our armaments were inadequate we could not do so.

These arguments, and the analogy with the earlier German situation, were accepted by nearly all the speakers. The truth is that Germany is not so much disturbed by British rearmament—for after all she has rearmed remarkably effectively herself—as by the reasons given for it in the Press and elsewhere. The continual harping upon Germany as the potential aggressor, coupled with criticism of her domestic policy and alarmist headlines and reports may be the necessary concomitants of democratic rearmament, but they cannot fail in the long run to produce serious effects, and perhaps even to bring about the very result we are arming to avoid—a general war. At present there is a very noticeable relaxation of tension throughout Germany; there is far less war talk than in England, and people are going about their business and pleasure with an ease of mind and a sense of security that they probably have not enjoyed since before 1914. To plunge Germany to-day into a war against the Western Powers would be psychologically impossible for the most

absolute of dictators, for no government in the history of the world has been able to disregard public opinion with impunity. But every Press attack on Nazi Germany, every suggestion that British armaments are directed against her, every false report or exaggeration of German intentions or actions, is grist to the mill of those who wish to wean the German people from that sentimental feeling for England, that *"unglückliche Liebe"* for their "cousins across the water" which still plays a large part in their political outlook.

Yesterday I attended the impressive annual ceremony of Heroes Day, the day of remembrance for the dead of the Great War, and listened to a naval officer, Admiral Raeder, addressing the Führer, his leading men, and, through the wireless, the German people. The speech was neither bombastic nor loud; the speaker hardly raised his voice from the quiet dignified tone in which he began. He remembered in moving words the brave dead of all the nations who fought. But the main theme of the speech was the assertion that with the incorporation of Austria and the Sudeten districts, the fulfilment of that ancient dream of a united "Great Germany," the removal of the injustices of the Treaty of Versailles, the sacrifice of those lives had been rewarded by Providence, and those who died for Germany had not died in vain. As an outward symbol of this all the flags were flown at the mast-heads instead of at half-mast, and have been left flying to-day, the anniversary of the Anschluss. And as I listened to the Admiral, I could not help wondering if we could feel the same about those whose memory we celebrate on November 11th. Theirs was surely the greater ideal of the war to end war, an ideal which may well prove to have been betrayed. But after all, I thought, it has not been wholly betrayed yet, and if, despite all difficulties, we can make the peace of justice with our former enemies which we failed to make in the heated atmosphere of the post-war years, we too can fly our flags high on the day of remembrance, a day which as a seal on the peace to come may be agreed upon by all the nations who fought in Armageddon.

POSTSCRIPT

I finished this article on Monday morning, under the impression of the moving ceremony of the day before, little thinking that German troops were massing as I wrote for the final subjugation of Czecho-Slovakia. Perhaps that was why an admiral had been chosen to make

the address for the first time in the history of the ceremony; no leading soldier, who must have been in the secret, could have spoken such words with sincerity.

Yet Admiral Raeder in speaking words of peace spoke for the German people. They received the news of the march to Prague for the most part with misgiving. Perfect strangers anxiously asked me about the reaction abroad. Few Germans do not realise the contradiction between the "folk" ideas of National Socialism upon which their genuine idealism is based, and the absorption of another race. If, as now seems probable, the German Revolution is proceeding to a new Napoleonic phase of conquest and expansion, it will not have the wholehearted support on which Napoleon could rely.

No Bitterness Against the People

The German people constitute the most fundamental factor which British policy, and above all British propaganda, must take into account. The threat of a Napoleonic domination of the world must be faced, and faced to-day, with every ounce of energy at our command and with the same spirit of sacrifice as that with which we faced Napoleon, and Germany in 1914. But there must be no bitterness against the German people. There could be no greater mistake than to put them into Coventry now, for then they will fight to the end. We must, even through the war, if it comes, recognise their fundamental kinship, their achievements, even those of National Socialism, their need of a "place in the sun." And if, or as I believe when, victory comes, there must be no betrayal of a new set of "Fourteen Points." Let us remember if we must fight that it is for freedom, not for the kind of democracy which made Versailles and thus created Hitler. The way to the victory of peace leads through determination, sacrifice and understanding, not through abuse.

KIND HEARTS > CORONETS

Among ministers and governmental posts (in Great Britain) there are two dukes, two marquesses, nine earls, nine viscounts, twenty barons, and more than a hundred baronets. These titled people are all somehow inter-related and related to the great commoners of politics, finance, and commerce.—*"Journal de Genève."*

WHAT ITALIANS ARE THINKING TO-DAY

From a correspondent in Rome

"THERE is no public opinion in Italy," I had been assured with staccato emphasis by the handsome, energetic Fascist Minister of Popular Culture, Dino Alfieri. "You see," he had added, "everybody has full confidence in the Duce." But here was my hard-headed, shrewd little maid from Verona daring to express doubts. She had been to two shops that morning without being able to buy coffee, the staple Italian *apéritif*. "And in one of them," she exploded, "they told me Mussolini has said Italians are no longer to drink coffee. It's time he thought a little less about himself and a little more about Italians." And she expatiated at some length on high prices, crippling taxation and lives wasted in Spain and Abyssinia. "Mussolini is a great man," I remarked diplomatically. "The fewer great men the better," she muttered and beat a grumpy retreat into the kitchen.

My maid, though generally cautious, likes every now and then to blow off steam. There are others less cautious, but for practical purposes the Minister was right; public opinion in Italy will not keep the bayonets from sprouting, the Jews from persecution, or the Fascist party from having a universal eye to the main chance. And, in spite of the criticism, most Italians seem proud of Mussolini. He has disciplined the country, given it order, put it on the map among the nations of the world; he has calculated so nicely the divisions of his adversaries that he has carried out nearly all he has set his hand to. The immorality of breaking treaties justifies itself to Italian eyes with success. Diplomacy is a game needing quick footwork and no scruples; an officious referee like Mr. Eden is a dangerous nuisance—unless he succeeds in stopping the game. Then he too might win the reluctant admiration due to the man who has "got away with it."

But to-day, conversations are dominated by the question-mark of war. Not that the atmosphere is tense. Problems can always be carried lightly under a blue sky with a bottle of Frascati on the table. But everybody knows that the easy gambles are over. Will Mussolini gamble again, will the fire-eaters lash him into too great a frenzy against France, or will he calculate the odds and be content with little? "We are rather breathless," an Italian told me. "We are like runners who thought we had won

the race and are now told to go on running because it's good for us." Then he shook his head. "I would like a bath and a change." And the talk slipped, as it always does in Rome, into frivolities—the latest scandal, the latest engagement, so-and-so's party. Because nobody knows what is really going on, nobody could influence it if they did and the practical Latin mind tires easily of conjecture.

But there are a number of unpleasant facts, to compel comment. The most important of all is the Axis, that unholy alliance welded for the sake of plunder. "If only you had recognised Abyssinia before the Anschluss," Italians will say, implying that a step in time to assuage Fascist vanity would have saved them from Hitler. The villain of the piece is Mr. Eden, who is looked on as having destroyed a European system merely for the sake of prejudice. Now the German shadow falls across the whole Peninsula. There are sighs for the days "when we were still ruled by Mussolini." German delegations swagger about in the Rome hotels; fat Teutonic bodies sprawl over the beaches at Capri; and every-

"Ah! Some Italian unemployed."

"Not at all. We are just waiting to add another map."

(Maps in Rome show the Roman Empire and the present Italian *Impero*.)

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

where Italians read contempt in their guests' faces and find no money in their pockets.

An elderly Englishman, who has lived in Italy nearly all his life, says that the welcome to Chamberlain was the most enthusiastic he has even seen given a foreign statesman by the Romans, and far different from the synthetic cheers for Hitler last spring. There is hardly an Italian who is not glad to have official sanction for friendly relations with England. France, on the other hand, is an old enemy.

The success of propaganda about French decadence is astonishing; after years of an inferiority complex, Italians like to believe the newspaper articles proclaiming their own superiority. There is a dangerous belief that Mussolini has only to sound the trumpet and the walls of Tunis will fall; dangerous because of the ease with which young and even middle-aged men could be induced to fight against France. Fortunately the belief does not appear to be shared by Mussolini himself, and the Tunis demonstrations, if looked at as a lark by the students, strike the more serious-minded as an undisguised bit of bungling. The French in Rome live on the whole unobtrusively, and are individually liked. Both sides know that the traditional site for demonstrations is outside the French Embassy and that whether the demonstration is hostile or friendly depends purely on the political game of the moment. The stern protest of the new French Ambassador, M. François Poncet, though useful for its effect in France, was almost a breach of the rules.

Spain leaves the Italians considering. "Mussolini cannot have spent so much on that war without meaning to get something out of it," you are told. But there are no illusions about the unpopularity of Italians in Spain, and the profit appears dubious. Will General Franco permit Spain to be used as a base against France? Can he prevent it? How, if at all, will he pay the debt he owes Italy for her arms? Has not Germany gained more at lesser cost? These are the questions people ask themselves, in doubt about the answer. And their perplexity throws more and more strain on their faith in Mussolini—as for the other Fascist leaders, they have long ago assumed the appearance of an unavoidable incubus.

The German influence has been most striking over the Jewish question. The typical attitude is to blame it on the Axis and to be thoroughly ashamed of it. The Church has spoken with all the authority of a dying Pope, and Italy listens to the Church. The human race, according to Catholic doctrine, is all one family and racial tolerance is to many Italians a matter of pride; now they are mortified; a barbarous

foreign idea has been allowed to encroach on one of the most cherished principles, a heritage from Imperial Rome. Privately they do what they can to help their Jewish friends; publicly they carry out their instructions with apathetic fatalism; the cause of liberty, it must be remembered, was lost seventeen years ago.

Italy would like to be rich, strong and respected; and, as she can only be those things at the expense of the "plutocratic democracies," envy of England and France must exist. But it has to be artificially inflamed to have any meaning. The average Italian wants above all to feel secure; under Mussolini he never will.

LES ANGLAIS

The French like to quote Lord Tyrrell's epigram that "the real defect in English policy since 1918 has been to mistake the Germans for Englishmen and the French for Germans. . . ."—*"Pertinax," "Foreign Affairs," New York.*

THE LEGION OF THE DAMNED—

Mm. Blum, Herriot, Azaña and Negrin join up.

"So you want to forget, too?"

"Yes, our failure in Spain."

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

MORALITY, UNITY AND WAR

A Creed for England

by MARTIN BOYD

England, under the shocks administered by Herr Hitler, is no longer at all complacent over the essential wisdom of British foreign policy to date—but as much cannot yet be said of the average man and woman's attitude towards social conditions in this country. Here and there writers, such as the author of this article, Captain Liddell Hart and Mr. Douglas Reed, have linked social injustice at home with our weakness abroad; but will the tempo of the dictatorships be too fast and the inertia in England too great for such voices to rouse their hearers in time? Mr. Boyd, who took part in the last Great War in the trenches and in the air, is a novelist who this summer is publishing an autobiography, called "The Sacred Fire," which he has written to emphasise the moral of this article

THERE is a widespread anxiety to achieve national unity. In the by-elections when a government candidate is returned, his supporters claim it as a sign of the nation's confidence in the Prime Minister. But one has only to look at the election figures to see that in most cases nearly half the constituency remains opposed to his policy. It appears that the nation is split fairly on this issue, and the evidence seems to show that those who oppose him are moved by a greater intensity of feeling than those who support him, so that there is little prospect of their being won over to unity under his leadership. One of their strongest objections to Mr. Chamberlain as Prime Minister is that he does not appear to recognise any point at which one should be prepared to suffer for a principle. Before Munich he declared that he recognised this point, but the next day it receded beyond his horizons.

Perhaps one must not expect a higher degree of morality in the Prime Minister than that of the people he represents. Since the collapse of Christian authority there is little guiding principle among the people—they feel that the supernatural revelation of a moral law is debunked—and this is reflected in the government. A good-natured toughness is the modern substitute for the Christian morality. It is roughly expressed in these maxims: "Don't do another down if you can avoid it. Don't be

done down yourself. Above all, don't be a poor sap of a Christian martyr."

There are signs of the realisation that this very dimly enlightened self-interest does not pay, particularly in international affairs. After Munich people found themselves jolted into recognition of what it is not over-simplification to describe as the problem of evil. The problem of evil which formerly worried only a few subtle-minded philosophers, has suddenly become every man's problem. Evil looms, enormous and insolent, threatening to destroy all that we have gained, not only of material advantage, our art and prosperity, but the principles which, since Socrates and Christ, with increasing clarity have guided our progress in human welfare. In large tracts of Europe these principles are already destroyed or driven underground.

To ask "How must we meet this menace?" is the same thing as asking: "How must we cope with evil?"

Ineffective Pacifism

The answer of the pacifist: "Resist not evil" is not likely to appeal to sufficient numbers to make it effective. It seems to demand a high point of evolution, a dying to oneself which few people have attained or are capable of attaining. One must consider the reasonable probabilities. In a world of lunatics it is difficult to see how the use of some kind of force can be avoided. At our period of evolution we must resist evil, preferably with the spirit, but if the lunatic is raging in your house, destroying the works which great men of the past have groaned and travailed to produce, and destroying in these things the spiritual inheritance of your children, you must restrain him by force. One generation has not the right, in regard for its own security and comfort, to throw away the rights of justice and freedom, which have been won for all in centuries of heroic struggle.

Though intelligence is of supreme importance, the purely intelligent does not, any more than the pacifist, seem adequately armed against evil. The intelligent person who has a great deal of knowledge, who believes that he sees the motive behind every action, sees also so many sides of every question that his movement is paralysed unless he has some guiding principle.

If the pacifist is too remote, and the intellectual too impotent for us, with what are we left?

There is still the classical morality. It hardly needs stating but every day it needs reaffirming. Even so it may be stated as the group of principles on which those men who have drawn to themselves the universal admiration of the human race, have based their thought and action.

Primarily what is against reason and truth and justice is against the classical morality.

It is, for example, against the classical morality, because it is against reason and justice, that a minority of human beings, now not even a responsible aristocracy of breeding and culture, should accumulate more wealth than their luxuries require, while an enormous number of their fellows are denied the means of adequate life. It is against reason and justice and also against nature that people should be herded, idle and undernourished in cities, while great tracts of land are uncultivated.

It is against the classical morality to save oneself or one's country at the expense of another.

It is against the classical morality to acquiesce in or expedite the conquest of a small, non-aggressive nation by a greater, or to acquiesce in any retreat from justice and freedom.

It is against the classical morality to pretend that a lie, told by a bully of whom one is afraid, is true.

Our immediate national offences against morality are in this commination.

Abroad its denials are obvious in the technique of gaining a selfish national advantage by playing one country against another, by making disingenuous declarations of policy as moves in a game, by the wilful disorganisation of international relationships with fantastic national claims; in the inflaming of passions by deliberately untruthful propaganda; in the persecution of religions whose teachings provide the foundation of Western Civilisation; and in the flat denial of a neighbour's responsibility towards other countries. That our own actions have provoked this condition may make it understandable but no less evil.

The Alternative of War

If the only alternative to acquiescence in evil is to go to war, again what must we do to be saved, as in war also our children's inheritance is destroyed and there is more accumulated offence to morality than in any other human activity?

This is where the pacifist scores over the man who merely makes an intellectual acceptance of the classical morality. An intellectual acceptance is supremely necessary but, like patriotism, it is not enough. It will only become effective when a man has an acute awareness of identity with his kind. This must be developed, above all in a politician, until he thinks of Europe, and ultimately of the world, as an organic whole. He must love his brother as himself because eternally his brother is himself. He strikes the same note in the universe. It is the commonplace realisation that man is his brother's keeper that must be the starting point of any re-affirmation of morality. It is futile to issue from a palace a call to moral rearmament to those who are living in slums. Whoever has grasped that basis of morality, identity with his fellow, will first passionately attack the cause of his distress. If you want heroes to resist evil, you must create the conditions in which heroes are bred. That is

"HOW CAN I FLY WITH THIS LOAD?"

"Kladderadatsch"
Berlin

the first task of re-armament, both moral and material. Incidentally it is easier to create a land fit for heroes before a war than after it.

If the people are enjoying the fruits of morality, that is of truth and justice and freedom, they are far more likely to be resolved to defend those principles and the country wherein they are valued, than if they are at the last minute lured to the recruiting office with the bait of better conditions when and if they survive a war. Not only that, the country where people are living in moral conditions of justice and freedom is by its very existence the most effective force against evil. The dictator would fear more than any armaments a nation united and inspired by the ideals of truth and justice. He knows that his deadliest enemy is the freely spoken word.

There remains to be answered the question: "Are we, in the defence of a just cause, to let loose again the hatred and bestiality of war, with its prolonged aftermath of greater injustice than that which we set out to remedy?"

Brotherhood with the German

The German, bewitched by his megalomaniacal leader, is still my brother. I cannot resist his impulse towards robbery and violence simply by opposing it with the spiritual force of good, because, inflamed by another spiritual force, he denies that the classical morality is good, and while I am reasoning with the lunatic, innocent people may be suffering in their millions, and my own country placed in peril. If, outside a war, a man commits a crime against his fellows, he is restrained but not injured. The houses of his relatives are not destroyed nor his children bombed. If a lunatic is seized and shut up, it is done with as little injury to his person as possible. This is the only way in which force should be used between nations, only with a strong sense of identity with one's brother, watching for any sign of the return of reason and eagerly seizing it when it appears. (The greatest crime of the last war was that it was waged with vindictive hate until "the knock-out blow," and no thought was given to Europe as a whole.) There should, for example, be no bombing of towns. It would be difficult to restrain our own savages from insisting on this, but it would have to be done. This is where a preliminary declaration of adherence to the classical morality by our own government would prove effective. Whilst opposing the military force which was attempting to destroy the freedom and

the material advantages which Western Civilisation has gained for itself, we should use every source of propaganda to make known, not the atrocities and corpse-boiling propensities of the enemy, but our will to live in peace and justice with him. For this finely tempered courage is needed. It is where toughness would fail.

In peace time the same habit of mind should be cultivated. The Germans are our potential enemies, but the sense of brotherhood with the German people should be cultivated among us. We should sympathise with their great achievement, that they have turned their weakness to strength. We should admire their youth movements, how they have turned their wretched unemployed into strong and hopeful young men. If I were able to point to similar strength and hope in our own young manhood, the sense of brotherhood would be increased, and their leaders would have a more wholesome respect for our country. But if their leaders should decide to use their strength against truth and freedom, then we should say: "Whatever the cost we shall resist you with what economic means are in our power. If because of that you make war on us we must accept it, and we shall then resist you with military force. Where those principles which have guided the whole of our western progress and culture are involved, there can be no compromise."

Germany has shown us what can be done by the power of the spirit. If the evil elements in that spirit are not to debase the moral currency of the entire world, we of the free nations must become inspired. We can only become united in this country under that inspiration. In a programme of truth and justice, made with continual reference to morality, the opposing evils of fascism and communism will be resolved.

There are many who believe that when the present Government and all those who have compromised with injustice are removed from power, it will be bliss to be alive, but it will only be bliss if the moral fibres of those who replace them are incorruptible, and it is only such men who will achieve any real national unity.

LONGEVITY RECIPE

Former Kaiser Wilhelm, at 80, attributes his long life to sawing wood. And a good fast auto ride out of Berlin some 20 years ago.—*"Boston Transcript."*

LAMENT

I, for example, who live alone very quietly with a staff of seven domestics, am quite unable to obtain a kitchenmaid.—*From a letter to "The Times."*

HITLER'S EASTWARD DRIVE

A BARRIER ARISES

by ALBERT MOUSSET

The post-Munich prophets of doom are at least confounded by developments in Poland and the Balkans, says this right-wing publicist. Others regard with misgiving any check to Germany's eastward drive, since opposition in that direction might turn Herr Hitler's eyes to the west. The anti-German demonstrations in Poland during Count Ciano's visit and after the annexation of Czecho-Slovakia, called forth angry admonitions in the German Press, reminding Poland that her future lay in keeping well in with the powerful Reich

From "Le Journal des Débats," 8.3.39

THE interview at Warsaw and the harmonious declarations of M. Beck and M. Gafencu (Rumanian Foreign Minister) announce a new phase in Polish-Rumanian relations. The understanding between the two countries has become so close that M. Beck will be the spokesman of Rumania in London on certain points—for example Jewish

emigration. Moreover, Poland will endeavour to smooth out the difficulties which exist between Bucharest and Budapest.

And so between the Baltic and the Black Sea there is emerging a sort of "anti-ideological front" grouping states which do not wish to take orders either from Berlin or from Moscow.

This will to independence, which is showing increasingly clearly on the diplomatic scene, is the result of a somewhat unexpected evolution in Eastern Europe.

At the end of the September crisis the most complete uncertainty clouded the destinies of this part of the world. The abandonment by France of the "Bohemian bastion" made it possible to prophesy a break-up of the old balance of power, which would rally to Germany, whether they liked it or not, those peoples who formerly were considered to move in our orbit.

Anti-German Reaction

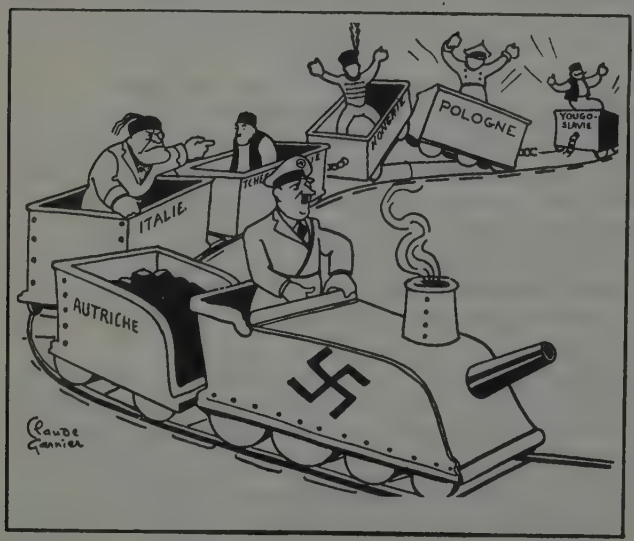
Now, the reaction of these peoples has been the opposite of what was counted on in Rome and Berlin and feared in London and Paris. They have become convinced—and perhaps this is the most decisive result of the autumn crisis—that the land on which they live is really Germany's chief objective. The space obsession (*Raum als Schicksal*) which haunts Nazi theorists, the "promised land" policy of which Ukrainism is the symbol much more than the end, have inspired all the governments of Eastern Europe to salutary reflection. So much so that five months after Munich we find them much less resigned in their relation with the "Axis" powers than they were on the eve of the crisis.

We all know the argument of those who last September preached resistance to the German claims. They think that the attitude of France has resulted in a loss of prestige and in the ruin of the system on which her security rested. Furthermore, they see in it the renunciation of that psychological support which our country found among the democratic masses of Eastern Europe.

Those who favour the Munich agreement reply that, if the autumn crisis has removed Czecho-Slovakia from the game, it has also, on the other side of the ledger, given new life to our alliance with Poland—an alliance which would never have worked in a conflict which had for its object maintaining the integrity of Czech frontiers. Leaving to soldiers the onus of deciding whether we have lost or gained by this substitution,

they add that our policy, although disappointing for certain sections of foreign opinion, has, on the other hand, rallied those governments which were given pause by the Paris-Prague-Moscow axis, an axis which bore an ideological stamp that was hardly to their taste. The recognition of General Franco appears to them as a new step in this realistic policy which subordinates the preferences of régime to national interest and which, on this count, is assured of finding a more favourable echo at Warsaw, Bucharest and elsewhere.

Without wishing to reopen the Munich dossier—which still lacks certain important documents—suffice it to state that Eastern Europe is no longer what it was in September, 1938. The Polish authorities have just met the solicitations of Count Ciano with a reserve the meaning of which has not been mistaken either in Germany or in Italy. Hungary, which last autumn was a trump in Herr Hitler's hand, would now much rather adopt Warsaw's point of view than Berlin's. Poland's Danubian policy has developed in the course of these last months, and everywhere at the expense of the Reich. As to the Belgrade government, it shows in south-east Europe the same reactions as Poland shows in north-east Europe. It has always cast a suspicious eye (except in the time of M.



"Steady on, some of the trucks are not properly hitched on yet!"

"Marianne," Paris

Marincovitch) on the European policy of Soviet Russia. For this reason it feels itself freer *vis-à-vis* the dictatorships, since Stalin's Russia has withdrawn into itself. The evolution of the Balkan Entente, marked by contacts between heads of states, is not less symptomatic. In a word, it is impossible to doubt that in a case of tension the totalitarian powers would not be able to expect from the governments of Central Europe that support or inactivity on which they counted last year.

Among the causes of this reversal we should not forget to number the strong declarations of the French government, our armaments and the armaments of Great Britain, and finally the attitude of the United States, many of whose subjects, hailing from Eastern Europe, have kept their bonds with their kinsmen.

A ZIFF FLAYS BRITAIN

Mr. Ziff's brilliant book (*The Rape of Palestine*, by William B. Ziff. *Longmans Green and Co.*, $3.50), tells the impassioned story of the betrayal of the Jews in Palestine. With copious factual material, British policies in the Holy Land are divested of their sanctimonious garb and their chicanery toward the Jew is exposed. . . .

The clever English are manipulating various groups of Arabs in starting pogroms and riots against the newcomers. What is infinitely worse, this benign government denied Jews the right to defend themselves. . . .

Much of Ziff's exposé will prove shocking, even to those who have always been skeptical about Britain's imperial procedure. This searching writer demonstrates beyond doubt that it was the British military camarilla of Jerusalem which conceived and staged the pogroms of 1920 and 1929. Those harrowing days transcended in cruelty the worst massacres of the Russian Czarist regime.

One must give due credit to Mr. Ziff's unusual intelligence. He condemns, with equal candor, the stupidity of the Zionist leadership.—*Extract of review by Rose Malfitano in the "Chicago American."*

THE THOUGHT OF ENGLAND'S SHAME FAIRLY PUT THEM OFF THEIR GAME?

England were beaten by 5-1 by Czecho-Slovakia here to-day, and so lost their chance of winning the Swaythling Cup in the world's table tennis championships. England had previously lost to Yugoslavia, while Czecho-Slovakia, who have won the cup, went through the tournament unbeaten.—*Report of Ping-Pong Championship in Cairo, "The Times."*

UNCONQUERABLE

Sir Frank Bowater, Lord Mayor of London, said that in all his life he had only had one little corn, which had been ably extracted.

"This Unconquerable Britain": See Page Sixteen.—*"Sunday Express."*

WHERE DOES POLAND STAND?

Snatching Doubtful Successes

Which way will Poland, led by her astute Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, turn in the European line-up? Wedged between Great Germany and Soviet Russia, with memories of past Partitions, of German hatred for the "Corridor" and lost Upper Silesia, with the object-lesson of Czecho-Slovakia before her eyes, her position is about as comfortable as a tight-rope walker's over Niagara

From the Warsaw correspondent of the "Nationalzeitung," Basle, 10.3.39

WHAT does the Polish Government really want? It is obvious that it wants to maintain a position "above parties." On the one hand it wants to continue for the time being its present foreign policy, which still looks as though it were the most favourable one for Poland. On the other hand, it wants to avoid appearing in opposition to Polish public opinion; on the contrary, it would like to appear as the understanding friend of the public, who may to-morrow reveal himself as a fellow-believer.

The reason for these tactics is to be found in foreign politics. Beck's policy has brought one great advantage to Poland: peace with Germany, peace from Germany. This advantage should not be lightly or prematurely placed in hazard. On the contrary, as long as the Axis and the Western Powers continue to play at tug-of-war, any alteration in Poland's policy is subject, in the Warsaw Government's opinion, to two conditions: should the centre of gravity shift obviously in favour of either one of the struggling groups, Poland would go over to that group's side. That would inevitably mean a far-reaching change in Polish foreign policy, should the victorious group be the Western Powers.

The second condition for a radical change in Polish foreign policy would appear immediately Germany took any step that infringed Polish sovereignty. As Polish-German friendship is not in a condition to stand any strain, it would come to a sudden end. It would be an under-estimate of Colonel Beck's suppleness, however, if one assumed that any such change would have to take place without or against him. As by far the most gifted politician in Poland, he would probably do a masterly right-about-turn on to the side of public opinion.

Far more difficult for him and his government is the pressing question: shall future successes be renounced, if they can only be achieved by being on the side of the Axis? Munich the First was a Pyrrhic victory for Poland, since, although she gained Teschen, she had to accept an increase in Germany's strength as part of the bargain—an increase in strength which is a vital danger to Poland, and which moreover caused unrest among the Polish population. Another one or two such victories, and the worst experiences in Polish history may repeat themselves. Polish support for the Axis's colonial claims might, in the event of success, mean the acquisition of a bit of Africa for Poland and simultaneously finally open Germany's way to the East, through the liquidation of France's power in Europe. And Polish support in carrying out Germany's plans in the East might at best mean shifting Poland's frontier a few dozen miles to the east or north, and so bringing the boundaries of Polish sovereignty to those of 1815. There are no signs that the Polish government fails to recognise the danger of such Pyrrhic victories. But there are also no signs that it intends to avoid them at all costs in future.

Reasons Found at Home

The reason for this is to be found in internal politics. The Polish Government needs successes. It can only obtain them in the field of foreign politics. Therefore it is forced to examine any chance with a microscope, and to look on the sunny side of even doubtful achievements. That, however, can only be done by keeping well in with the Axis Powers these days, and to keep in with the Axis, the present Polish foreign policy is indispensable. Therefore it is necessary to continue following this policy and to protect its leading exponents—even if, as in the case of Count Ciano's visit, sections of the population blatantly show up the shady side of such successes.

TRY IT ON THE L.P.T.B.

A bird in the hand is worth two 'bus tickets to a family that live near Roanoke, Virginia. This is what a local policeman told the directors of the local 'bus company: "I saw this passenger get off the 'bus coming in from the suburbs. He had a pigeon under his arm. I didn't expect larceny, exactly, but I watched him. As soon as the 'bus was out of sight he takes out a 'bus pass from his pocket and fastens it on the pigeon's leg. Then he throws the pigeon in the air, and it circles round a minute and then streaks right back home. I guess every other member of the family uses that ticket."—*"Japan Chronicle," Kobe.*

COMMUNISM IN GREAT BRITAIN
Its Strength and Future

by JOHN STRACHEY

From an article in "Current History," New York, January

The strength of Communism in Britain is a subject of much speculation. It is, therefore, particularly interesting to learn the facts from one of the foremost Marxist leaders in this country, Mr. John Strachey, who has kindly given us his consent to reprint his article

THE Communist Party in Great Britain to-day has about 15,000 adult members, plus 4,000 or 5,000 members in the Young Communist League—a little less than 20,000 in all. This membership is far too small to enable the Communist Party to play the part in British public life which it would like to play. But the party does play a much larger rôle than would at first seem possible for a group numerically so small. . . .

The fact is that the membership of the Communist Party represents not the number of persons who support Communism as an idea or the Communist Party as an organisation, but the number of persons who engage in active and, in many cases, in full time work for the cause. Ever since 1902, when Lenin founded what became the first Communist Party, this has been the distinguishing feature of these organisations. They have never attempted to attract a membership of millions of persons who would be willing to vote for the Communist programme, but to do no more.

It is impossible to say with any approach to accuracy just how many *supporters* of Communism there are in Great Britain at present. The last general election, held in 1935, offers some clues to the question. The Communist Party put only two candidates in the field at that election; in every other constituency it supported the Labour candidates. In each of the two constituencies in which Communists ran, the party polled some 13,000 votes; and one of their candidates was elected.

Now there are just over 600 constituencies in Great Britain. Hence, if Communist candidates had been placed in the field in each of the 600 constituencies, and if they had done as well as the two candidates who actually ran, the Communist Party would have polled a national vote

of 7,800,000. But this is far too high a figure, of course; naturally the Communist Party chose to run its two candidates in constituencies where their chances were especially good. Figure it any way you like, it remains clear that the number of persons in Great Britain prepared to support the Communist programme must be numbered in millions rather than in thousands.

All these estimates are, in one respect, somewhat unreal, however. For the Communist Party in Great Britain does not consider itself to be an isolated political organisation working in opposition to all the other political organisations of the country. Rather, the leaders of the British Communist Party are convinced that the fortunes of their organisation are irrevocably tied up with the fortunes of the entire British labour movement. . . .

Welding the Labour Movement

Three distinct types of working class organisations have characterised all European labour movements, including the British. Each was built up by the working masses themselves, in instinctive response to the pressure exercised upon wage-earners by organised society. These three types of organisation are: the trade-union movement, the co-operative movement and the working-class political parties. In Britain, each of these three great divisions are highly developed. The trade union movement numbers about five million wage-earners. The co-operative movement has about eight million members. At a general election the British Labour Party usually manages to poll eight or nine million votes.

The British Communist Party is attempting to imbue this vast but loosely jointed movement with a sense of coherence and direction. . . . It is attempting to make them see politics as the expression of the struggle of themselves and their fellow workers for tolerable conditions of life, to see politics as a struggle which workers are compelled to wage in any case, but which they can wage effectively only if they become conscious of its nature and its implications.

Many individuals, especially among the leadership of the Labour Party, bitterly resent any attempt that is made to help the working masses become conscious of their own activities as part of a great world-wide struggle. Hence the efforts of the Communist Party are bitterly resented and rigorously fought by many important members of the Labour Party. The Communist Party's repeated applications for affiliation with the

Labour Party have never been accepted. Individual members of the Communist Party are even prevented from becoming members of the local Labour Parties.

But Communist Party members cannot be prevented from belonging to trade unions. Indeed, Communists take a very active part in the work of many unions. . . .

The picture which I have drawn of the extent and solidity of the British Labour Movement may be misleading. The movement is large and solid, but it is not in a healthy condition. It is making little or no gain in its voting strength. . . . There is both faction and apathy among certain sections of its members.

The Communist Party of Great Britain preaches that these distressing symptoms have come about because the leaders of the Labour movement have not been guided by any consistent policy in recent years. The policy of the Labour Party, and particularly of the great trade unions which finance and thus control it, has been one of tacit and concealed co-operation with the National Government. . . .

Conservative Labour Leaders

The political leaders of British labour have steadfastly and even violently opposed the one course of action which could have endangered the position of the National Government. That course would have been for the Labour Party to join the Liberal Party, the Communist Party and many other groups such as the League of Nations Union, the International Peace Campaign, the Council of Action (an organisation led by Lloyd George and strong among the Free Church Non-Conformist elements) for powerful and concerted opposition to the National Government, particularly in its last phase under Chamberlain. The British Communist Party has, for its part, strongly urged the Labour Party leaders to join the Liberals and every other political organisation which was willing to oppose the pro-Fascist policy of Chamberlain. . . .

How much influence has the Communist Party and so-called Marxist ideas in Great Britain to-day? Until the outbreak of the world economic crisis in 1929, Britain—save for America—was the nation least affected by Marxist ideas. By the third decade of the twentieth century Marxist thought had become, though often in a most adulterated and distorted form, a part of the mental life of continental Europe. But Britain escaped. So far as the universities were concerned, Marx and Engels might never have written a line.

About 1916, however, a very small group of men and women, many of whom had been active in the pre-war effervescence of the British working-class movement, began to awaken to the importance of the ideas of Marx, Engels and, above all, of Lenin. . . . To-day the members of this group are responsible for much of the thinking which determines the policies of the British Communist Party; but for ten years they remained completely isolated from the culture of the rest of the English intelligentsia.

Growth in Marxist Thought

With the coming of the 1929 crisis, however, the picture changed very sharply. The significance of Marx's analysis of the operation of a capitalist economy suddenly became apparent to a wide section of the British intellectual world. In the universities a considerable number of undergraduates began to demand that they should hear something about this doctrine, which seemed to explain the facts of the economic crisis which surrounded them.

There was a good deal of immaturity and even absurdity in this sudden conversion to the Marxist point of view of relatively large numbers of people, many of them very young. Yet, as the years have passed, a solid corps of writers, artists, medical men, teachers, lawyers, and above all, scientists have mastered the Marxist system of ideas. Two distinguished young scientists, Professors Bernal and J. B. S. Haldane, have made themselves into first-rate exponents of the philosophy of scientific socialism.

It was freely prophesied that the "craze" for Marxism among university undergraduates during the 1931-33 period would disappear as soon as the acute phase of the economic crisis had been overcome; these young men, it was suggested, would "regain their sanity." Nothing of the sort has happened. Solid groups of young men, who have made it their business to give serious study to Marxism, as well as to their own academic work, have continued to exist in the British universities, especially Oxford and Cambridge. To-day their influence is probably stronger than it ever was.

The most striking development in the field of political education is afforded by the establishment and growth of an organisation called the Left Book Club. I must warn the reader that I am closely connected with this organisation, being one of the three persons who select the books. Hence he must discount some of my enthusiasm for it. . . .

The Left Book Club has been in existence for only two and a half years, but it already has a membership of more than 50,000. Moreover, there have grown up quite spontaneously, and by the desire of the members themselves, no less than a thousand groups which meet regularly in almost every town and in many villages throughout Britain to discuss the book published by the Club that month, or some cognate subject. These 50,000 members of the Left Book Club are for the most part persons who are active in one or another phase of the labour movement. They are members of local labour parties, of trade unions, or of co-operative societies. Hence the Book Club cannot in the end fail to be of great significance, if these key members of the labour movement become imbued with a unifying and illuminating political philosophy. . . .

I myself am convinced that in the end Marxist ideas and principles must become dominant, simply because they are true. Right now self-deception, half truths and downright lies seem to rule the world more completely than ever before. Yet the lie cannot conquer because the lie is, in the ultimate analysis, contradictory. Communities such as Fascist Germany, which are completely under the domination of false ideas, and communities such as Great Britain, which are less completely but yet dominantly under the influence of ideas only less false, must fail.

But the comfort of this thought is, to my mind, somewhat colder than is usually admitted. Truth is mighty and will prevail in the long run. But as John Maynard Keynes once remarked: "In the long run we shall all be dead." The lie will destroy itself by its self-contradictions; but it may also destroy us and civilisation as we know it. To make the maximum number of people understand what is happening in the world remains the one job worth doing in our time and generation.

MAYFAIR IN CROATIA

With a lady's maid and fourteen pieces of luggage, Lady Maureen Stanley, wife of Mr. Oliver Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, arrived here to-day to give the Balkans a picture of English life.

Lady Maureen, who has been sent by the British Council to propagate British ideas and policy, began her propaganda by arriving in a pale blue and black woollen suit.

She changed into pale pink and black for a tour of the villages round Zagreb, where the peasants still wear six white petticoats and an embroidered jacket.

Her clothes have been made by British textile manufacturers and she has volunteered to show them round the towns for the good of trade.—*Hilde Marchant, "Daily Express."*

MARX WAS NO PROPHET
America and Britain Should be Communist

From an article by William Henry Chamberlin (for many years newspaper correspondent in the Soviet Union), in the "American Mercury."

CURIOUSLY enough, it was a professing Communist in Krasnodar, a provincial town in South-eastern Russia, who first, quite unconsciously, directed my attention to Marx's basic and major blunder. He was secretary of the local Communist party committee and I called on him during a trip through the Soviet provinces in 1924.

I was surprised by the sour look and glum silence which followed his reading of my Foreign Office good-character certificate to the effect that I was an American correspondent. But there was a reason behind the morose gloom of the Krasnodar local boss. I realised this when he broke his silence and burst out:

"Marx said that revolution must come first in the most highly developed capitalist countries. America is more advanced industrially than we are, but there is no American revolution. What's the matter with you Americans, anyway?"

This comrade, I feel in retrospect, was a dangerous thinker and a likely subsequent candidate for liquidation. This idea that Socialism must come as the next higher stage of human development after capitalism has exhausted its possibilities of development, is the very cornerstone of Marx's dogmatic system.

Of the three countries which, according to Marx, should have been first to burst their "capitalist husks" and emerge into the apocalyptic splendours of Socialism, two—America and Britain—show little indication of setting up the co-operative commonwealth. The third highly developed capitalist country, Germany, has indeed experienced a revolution, but hardly the kind which Marx foresaw as "inevitable."

Closely allied with this cardinal blunder was Marx's equally mistaken conviction that capitalism everywhere would survive long enough to perform all the functions which he allotted to it.

Here again history has dealt unkindly by him. For the only large country where his ideas have won the status of a state religion is Russia, where capitalism was in its early adolescence at the time of the Bolshevik revolution.

Another of Marx's great mistakes was his belief that a dictatorship of the proletariat was both desirable and possible. Of all the ideas of minority rule that have been put forward since Plato's Republic, this conception of preferred rights for the class of manual wage-workers is surely one of the most patently unreasonable. The effort to put it into practice in Soviet Russia has probably contributed as much as any single factor to the protracted agony of that country during the last two decades.

Text-Book Captains of Industry

The packing of the universities with Red professors whose political coloration was their sole academic qualification and with students who were deliberately selected on a basis not of ability, but of class origin, the filling of offices on the same basis, led to a measure of incompetence in almost all branches of the state service which could not be duplicated anywhere in the world.

Nowhere could one find so many "captains of industry" unable to distinguish between a turbine and a generator, so many managers of large farms who could not be trusted to know a silo from a haymow, so many engineers better versed in the laws of Marx than in those of chemistry and physics.

And, as this incompetence led to shortage and suffering, and suffering led to discontent, a demand for scapegoats grew up, and the psychological background for the witchcraft sabotage trials was created.

Equally absurd with belief in the dictatorship of the proletariat as desirable was the belief that it could be maintained. The occupational list of the members of Stalin's new parliament is revealing in this connection. It shows a marked preponderance of bureaucrats over proletarians.

In *Capital,* Marx thunders against piece-work methods of payment. This form of payment he describes as very disadvantageous to the workers, leading to physical exhaustion as a result of excessive efforts to raise the level of wages, and to increased competition among the workers, breaking down their solidarity. Marx saw in piece-wages part of the original sin of private capitalism, and assumed that it would be abolished under Socialism.

He would doubtless be surprised if he could appear in a Soviet factory to-day and find, along with a crude lithograph depicting his own features, wall placards demanding more intensive application of piece-work and denouncing any opponents of this system as Trotskyist spies and saboteurs.

Marx also regarded the wage system as a product of capitalist iniquity. A considerable part of the first volume of *Capital* is devoted to efforts to prove that exploitation can be eliminated only by abolishing the sale of labour, that is, by doing away with the wage system. Here, as in other cases, history has played Marx a joke. Twenty years after the revolution which was made in his name, the Soviet Union gives not the slightest sign of scrapping the wage system, which is, indeed, becoming markedly and increasingly differential.

Behind all these mistaken assumptions lies a greater and more fundamental error. This is Marx's failure to realise that unrestricted power is far more oppressive, far more conducive to exploitation, than private ownership of wealth. In other words, an absolutist state, monopolising both political and economic power, not only can be, but must be, a more ruthless exploiter than the private employer in a democracy.

The latter, assuming that he is obsessed with a desire to short-change his employees, faces a host of curbs and checks. His workers may organise a union and strike. They may leave him individually for a more appreciative boss. And the working of a competitive system generally carries its own penalty for unfair labour policies. But what curb or check can there be on the Soviet local satrap who has received orders from Stalin to starve the peasants into submission or to liquidate a few saboteurs or to throw a few thousand kulaks out of their homes? Obviously, in the light of recent Soviet history, none whatever.

PARIS COMES TO HOUNDSDITCH

"The pelerine, the pinched waist and the petticoat, stand out among the new fashion notes. All these, at one time very serious businesses, are now light-hearted affairs. Even the wasp waist is more a matter of careful design in contrast than a painful compression of the anatomy."

So writes "Our Fashion Observer"—no, not in the *Morning Post,* for that is merged, but the *Daily Worker,* the organ of Communism and the unemployed! . . .

Beside a lot of this are two sketches, one of "a black tulle with apron effect worked in multi-coloured sequins, from Mainbocher," and "an example from Maggy Rouff, of the slim and straight style, trimmed in rose and thorn. . . ."

Girls, mind—oh, mind!—that horse's hoof,
Or else 'twill soil your Maggy Rouff.
Be careful of your *œuf poché* !
Don't spill it on your Mainbocher!—*Hannen Swaffer, "World's Press News," London.*

PETTICOAT PARADE
Britain's Democratic Amazons

From "Der S.A.-Mann," Berlin, 13.2.39

Here the organ of the Storm Troops takes a crack at British women territorials, by way of reply to the accusation that the Germans are militarising their women

HOW times do change! Before the war, when women in England were fighting for equality and voting rights, they were howled down as blue stockings and men-women. Public opinion as a whole was dead against the suffragettes. Long, long ago! The picture has completely changed to-day.

While dignified Lords stalk proudly round golf courses, while honourable baronets grow flowers, drink whisky and devote themselves to similar "manly" pursuits, the heel taps and parade marches of the women's battalions thunder over British barrack grounds. Yes, the Ladies are learning to march; yes, Miss Smith is learning to stand to attention; yes, the darlings and sweethearts are practising "Halt!" and "About turn!" so that they may soon be lieutenants and majors. . . .

Not a soul would believe us, if we were not to publish these illustrations. Just take a good look, chaps. Despite reverence for the female sex, a slight shudder runs down our backs at the sight of these British amazons, not to mention the inevitable smile. If England were ever to go to war with such an army, she would certainly win. Why? Because the enemy would half kill themselves laughing. But it presumably will not ever come to that, for the women doing the parade march in these pictures are "only" trainees for the officers' posts in the Women's Territorials. However—don't laugh—they *will* be taught shooting.

Incidently, these pictures show in what a hurry the Britons are to train this feminine militia; some of the ladies are not yet completely dressed up; true, this has caused floods of tears, but nevertheless the poor things without a uniform—after having removed traces of their emotion with powder, rouge and eyebrow pencil—have had to appear on the parade ground at Chelsea.

The drill sergeant of the Grenadier Guards can't have an easy time of it. After all, he can't treat these future women officers like recruits.

NAZIS FIND THESE WOMEN FUNNY

The Women's Auxiliary Territorial Service being inspected at Chelsea Barracks. In the photograph referred to in this article the women were being instructed in marching by a Grenadier Guards sergeant.

He can't yell: "You there, fourth man in the first line, kindly pull your pigeon-breast in more!" Of course, that wouldn't do. How shocking! Well, he will probably know how to get out of the difficulty. Perhaps he will warble: "Please, Miss Mary, the left leg should be a little higher in marching, no, *much* higher than that, please!" We guess he wants double rations of whisky, that drill sergeant, when he gets to the canteen of an evening.

As women are accepted between the ages of 18 and 50, regardless of whether they are married or not, it may be imagined what moving scenes must take place with their friends and relations. Mr. Miller, perhaps a clerk in a department store, must put up with having his sweetheart refuse to go dancing with him. "Darling," she will sigh, "I didn't realise how tiring marching is." Worthy family men will many a

time have to dry tears, because the good wife did not cut such a fine figure on the parade ground as some eighteen-year-old sports girl. Elsewhere, the family of one of the "weaker" sex will suddenly jump at hearing a manly tone of command, and will certainly be delighted.

But it should not worry us what this petticoat parade may have as consequences. If Englishwomen dress themselves up in full war-paint and go marching round parade grounds as stiff and perspiring as may be—what has that got to do with us? At the most we regret it. It is for others to regard it as a reproach. We know that women only become manly when and where the men have become effeminate.

A miracle it certainly is not, that the women take to the barracks in a country where the same men who talk so much about preventive war and incite to battle, prefer for themselves a comfortable life as fashion-plate heroes or aspirants to the films, in accordance with the thrice-holy conception of British "comfort.'

It goes without saying that we Germans have a diametrically opposed opinion about women's battalions. We believe that feminine grace, beauty and gentleness should not be suffocated on the parade ground. Women, after all, are not men. While we do not demand that the, oh so perfect, Englishman should share our opinion, we should like to point out one thing with all the appropriate modesty that a Nazi barbarian should display: on German parade grounds it is only men who march. In Germany, the women have no need to become men-women. With us the girls don't stump round in any parade march, with us there is no Lieutenant Mary Smith, with us women don't stand to attention, and with us they are not subjected to the treatment of drill sergeants.

Actually, we should never have mentioned such obvious facts, if the old atrocity story of the militarisation of German women had not cropped up for the umpteenth time in the foreign Press. The natty blouses of our German Girls' Union, the becoming costume of the Labour Service girls are described as "uniforms." How many crocodile tears have been shed about the militarised and suppressed womanhood of Germany! In reality, it was left to the democratic world-governesses to carry out the militarisation of women.

At the Battle of Trafalgar, Admiral Nelson gave the order: "England expects every man to do his duty." When they are in difficult situations, the Britons like to recall this. In view of the women's battalions it would be logical if they replaced the word "man" by "woman."

BLACKS, WHITES AND NAZIS

THE TRUTH ABOUT OUR NATIVE POLICY

by DR. G. HECHT of the National-Socialist Party's Racial-Political Bureau

From "Nordland," 11.2.39

Opposition to the return of the ex-German colonies is based to a considerable extent on the belief that it would mean handing over to a ruthless system of racial intolerance natives who under British administration are being educated to take an increasing share in their own government. Now, for the first time, National Socialist native policy has been defined, and criticism acquires a definite basis. "No equality ever" is also the policy of the Union of South Africa; and the fact that on this point they see eye-to-eye was the reason why Mr. Oswald Pirow, South African Minister, advocated the return of Germany to the Continent (though not to South West Africa, the Union's mandate)

TWENTY years ago their protectorates, which had been acquired solely by honourable and honestly executed treaties, were torn from the German people. This robbery was nothing but sheer imperialism, with the object of destroying the Reich and making its people for ever dependent on the Jewish International of money and big capitalism. But the reason for seizure of our protectorates is still given to-day as being our lack of understanding of how to treat natives decently. This is an insult to the whole German nation.

So far we have only been able to meet this insult by referring—apart from our clear-cut ideological attitude towards all racial values—to our treatment of the natives in the pre-war period, which was completely just to the coloured people. The principles of National-Socialist colonial racial policy had not then been proclaimed. They are now, however, set out in a brochure which was recently published by the Racial-Political Bureau of the National Socialist Party.

The international Jewish Press is immediately filled with atrocity lies about the supposed future German native policy, as soon as our colonial claims are given renewed expression. This nervousness, however, only proves to us the increasing uncertainty of that International.

It is asserted that we will introduce race hatred into these colonies, that we will refuse the coloured people any participation in our technical life and civilisation, that we will take away their bicycles, pocket lamps, press studs and braces, remove their European clothes and hunt them back into the bush in a loin cloth. One particularly outrageous lie is that we would, from race hatred, refuse the natives human and medical help; no people in the world are so unselfishly and honourably ready as the Germans to render comradely aid to other sick human beings. We repudiate this reproach in particular with deepest indignation—we, who at a time when we were not actual owners of our colonies presented them with priceless cures for malaria, sleeping sickness and many other scourges.

The assertion made by certain circles that we would turn baptised natives into heathens again is too transparent to need any refutation beyond reference to the high degree of protection given by National-Socialism to the practice of religion, whereas in Russia and Soviet Spain churches are burnt and in the "democracies" atheist congresses are held.

The Proof of the Pudding

Actual conditions in the colonies belonging to these "democracies" with their humanitarian phrases, the innumerable revolts, unrest, starvation and crises should make people in the motherlands pause for thought before they start on us, in order to divert attention from their own misdeeds.

However, the serious tension in overseas territories is the best proof of the rightness of National-Socialist racial principles, and of the destructive and unnatural danger of the equality theories advocated by humanitarian liberalism, marxism and related international ideologies.

The spiritual and cultural life, just as much as the economic and political life, of the coloured races has been destroyed, without the natives' being offered anything more valuable in return. For it is impossible to educate people of foreign race to the culture, social principles and manner of life that is peculiar to us whites. The coloured races were introduced to spirits, cotton and beads, they were taught to wear so-called decent and civilised European clothes, and by so doing only brought shamelessly high profits to "blossoming" Jewish shoddy goods dealers. The coloured man was "civilised," i.e. he was turned into a semi-European who managed to "swear and spit" a bit, but who was never able to acquire the creative soul and real nature of the white man.

A great song and dance was made about being liberal and "democratic," the right to strike and to vote was granted, while on the other side of the picture Jewish big capitalism was allowed to exploit the selfsame coloured workers in outrageous fashion. Then the last and worst step was taken: the white man dishonoured himself and the white woman before the coloured races in haunts of vice, and showed inconceivably dirty and vulgar films which portrayed the white world only in moral degradation, but never its hard-working everyday life.

The rule of the democracies in their colonies to-day is nothing more than a State-protected campaign of exploitation of the most shameless kind, carried out against the coloured races under cover of humanitarian phrases. And when self-respecting natives, not yet spiritually destroyed, defend themselves against this European "culture," they are fought as enemies of civilisation and peace. Proof of this is the struggle for freedom being waged by the Arabs against Jewish exploitation.

But what task does National-Socialism see before it? We do not talk hypocritically about the uplifting of mankind and missions of culture, but say honestly that our protectorates serve to extend and secure our basis of raw materials, and to extend our world-political position; also, as an important foreign-political school for our best manhood.

As, however, the opening-up of the colonies can only be most economically accomplished if the natives become our willing and diligent collaborators, native policy must aim at accustoming them to our technical methods, without uprooting them from their social and cultural life. This will certainly be possible if we carry out the opening-up of the colonies, not according to big capitalist and liberal principles, but according to racial principles and those of planned economy, i.e. of National-Socialism.

A Trustee of Labour will watch over the weal and woe of the natives and protect them from being exploited and swindled by dealers in shoddy goods. That means our protectorates will be free from Jews. In big reserves the tribes still living in communities will be able to continue to follow their cattle raising or crop cultivation undisturbed by white settlements or farms, only advised by agricultural experts. By this means production will be raised and regulated, thus guaranteeing our economic planning. Extensive territories will be turned into large-scale plantations for the whites, and the virgin forests will be systematically afforested. Everything, however, will be carried out with the fact in mind that the

native is the most valuable asset of the protectorate, and will be most hard-working and efficient if we treat him properly and decently and if we leave him his own social and cultural life.

Since Trustees will watch over the natives, they will need no political "rights" such as the "right to vote" and so forth. On the contrary, they will receive in this way more true rights than in the democracies' colonies, where they are hopelessly inferior to the Europeans in the free play of "equality." The native will not become a citizen of the Reich, but a ward of the protectorate, who is able to acquire certain real rights, but only those which he is able to fulfil of his own free-will.

Differing Cultures

Foreign countries have vigorously attacked our colonial school programme, and falsified our intentions so that it appears as if the natives were to receive no schools at all. We only maintain that the coloured people shall not have European culture presented to them as the sole true culture, but shall in the first place learn from their own culture. The native must learn that the civilisation of the whites belongs principally to them, while he should maintain his own form of life.

Marriage and intercourse between whites and coloured people will naturally be forbidden. The whites' places of amusement will be shut to the native, who will be given his own instead. Rubbishy films and immoral literature will be, of course, forbidden, particularly representations of white woman which destroy or injure her dignity.

In work, together; in private life, separated—that is how whites and coloured peoples will live in the protectorates. Appreciation of the deep-seated difference of our native wards arising out of our racial principles is the basis of our actions everywhere. So our protectorate will become in peaceful cultivation a source of raw materials and a school of education for us, while the native's own particular way of living will nevertheless be guarded and guaranteed.

QUALIFICATIONS

"Do you suffer from Hot Moist Hands, Cold Feet, Wandering Eyes, Weak Knees, Acute Embarrassment, Groundless Fears, Blushing, Missed Opportunities, Fallen Arches?

"You do? Then why aren't you in Parliament?"—*George Formby.*

A NATIVE PROTEST

From "International African Opinion," London

LORD FRANCIS SCOTT, who has been much in the news lately as the host of his royal niece, the Duchess of Gloucester, and her husband, has also received much publicity for his call to all sections of the East African population to stand firm against Nazi aggression. This noble lord of the Kenya Highlands, who collared wide acres when the Native Land Board was giving away the African's lands, asks "all people of all races in East Africa to band themselves together in adamant opposition to any suggestion of ceding Tanganyika to Hitler."

It is a new phenomenon for East African whites to acknowledge coloured races in the same breath with themselves. In Kenya and Tanganyika they have always kept a wide bridge between their breed and the lesser Indian and African populations, so wide that only the good, clean air of the mountains was pure enough for the whites, while the coloured people must be satisfied with the fœtid atmosphere of overcrowded reserves and urban barracks. Whence this change? For surely Lord Francis has not altered his views since he, so recently as January, 1938, declared that "we are not going to tolerate any interference with our security in the Highlands. We will not tolerate interference from local Indians, the Government of India, or anyone else in that particular question"? If he has, we shall expect him shortly to announce that arrangements will be made to allow the natives to whom the land really belongs a wider share in it, and an opportunity to breathe the more rarified oxygen until now exclusively reserved for whites.

We believe, however, that we are much nearer the truth when we ascribe this sudden "friendship" with the African races to "the absolute necessity of retaining Tanganyika in the British Empire." As Lord Francis himself says, "it is too obvious to require explanation." The retention of Tanganyika "is a vital factor in the future of the Empire throughout Africa." May we remind Lord Francis and the rest of the settlers who have been thrown into hysterical panic at the thought of losing the basis of their parasitic existence, that Tanganyika is a mandatory territory entrusted to the British Empire on "the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant"? The League Covenant nowhere decrees

that mandates shall remain forever the "wards" of the nations administrating them, but makes it a point that this is only a stage towards *Self-Determination.* Have those men who are now shrieking for the help of the Natives ever considered the possibility of a free Tanganyika and Kenya under the Africans' own guidance?

Hitler Could Be No Worse

It is not Fascist methods to which these men are opposed, but Fascist annexation. The blacks know that under Hitler they would have no further rights to lose. Their land has been appropriated, they are taxed, reduced to miserably paid wage labour, forced to carry a "kipandi" like common criminals, register their finger-prints, live in filthy, stinking hovels. What further degradations could Hitler heap upon them? Lord Francis Scott puts the question, "Has German treatment of her own people and her attitude to minorities been such as to encourage anyone to place Africans, Indians and British subjects under German care?" People living in glass houses who will throw stones must bring down their edifice, and the blacks may pertinently ask: "Has British treatment of Africans been such as to destroy all confidence in the trustee?"

ARAB TREAT

"A waste of energy," says Goering's paper, the *National Zeitung,* dismissing the B.B.C. German broadcasts; and in our faltering and even tearful view the Goering boys should wait for the Boat Race broadcast (which swept the Arabs off their feet last year) before saying hasty things like that.

All over the desert to-day, a travelled chap tells us, the Arabs, who are very fond of monotonous interminable songs sung through the nose, are rocking to and fro and rolling their eyes and chanting things like :

The moon is full but the jackals are silent,
Ai! Ai!
Why, my Beloved, am I not at Putney with the heroes on the Sweet Waters of Delight?
Frightful is their fitness, striking awe and wonder into yelling houris of enormous size.
Ai!
Or so my Uncle Abdul tells me was the case when he was at Balliol (etc.)

A well-known sheik (this chap adds) has already written to Goering saying how marvellous the Boat Race broadcast was, and what a fury of despair would seize the desert tribes this year if the Boot of Deprivation were to impinge on the Trousers of Expectancy. So we beg the *National Zeitung* boys once more to wait for it. They don't know their luck.—*Timothy Shy, "News Chronicle."*

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RUSSIA'S PART IN THE FAR EAST

JAPAN'S GIGANTIC TASK

by KARL HAUSHOFER (Editor)

From "Zeitschrift für Geopolitik," Heidelberg, March

Tension between Russia and Japan has increased recently, over the apparently trivial matter of Japanese fishing rights off the Soviet Coast. As these extracts show, the part Russia is playing in the Far Eastern struggle is already a serious one for Japan, and is likely to become more so still. Dr. Karl Haushofer, Professor at Munich University and a retired Major-General, is a writer on geographical politics whose words are taken seriously in less popular but more informed German circles

A GOOD third of the best part of Japan's army in China is still standing guard with rifles at the ready on the most risky frontier—that facing the Soviet Union. Even the fight against the rivers of the Yellow Earth, the struggle forward along the Yangtse via Hankow against a national resistance retreating inwards towards Szechuan, is less of a nerve strain than that constant staring at an implacable foe, always prepared to strike from behind his barrier of defence on the Amur—an enemy who, by his preparedness alone, and by his arms deliveries and advice is rendering immense service to Chiang-kai-Shek; greater service perhaps than if he were to decide prematurely on a resort to arms, instead of only proving—and increasing—his readiness by constant incidents.

Is Vladivistok still a "pledge of peace," as it was mockingly called by Japanese officers before the World War? We believe it is not now, so long as it is not completely destroyed, so long as from it can be despatched bombing squadrons and submarines against Japan's most vulnerable and vital parts and her traffic arteries. For here is to be found the sole spot which Japan has so far not been able to protect by her proud fleet, with its ocean-turned face.

Furthermore, it becomes clearer with each month of war that a possible common move by Soviet Russia and the U.S.A. over the northern Pacific is being discussed in theory. It would be a serious error on the part of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo triangle to deceive itself about the latent enmity of North America, which goes far enough almost to bridge the

gulf between the capitalism of the *arrivistes* of Wall Street and the bolshevism of the *arrivistes* of Moscow. All rulers of big territories know how precarious are the lines of communication on which Japan's conquests in the interior rest. Certainly, everyone knows, too, what a risk would be run by the first outsider to interfere in the Far East.

Two gigantic native tigers have their claws dug into one another out there. Which will be the one to bleed to death? "He who rides on a tiger, cannot get off," says an old proverb common to both Japan and China. How much less easy for a tiger which is riding another tiger—the strongly roused national sentiment of Japan, on the reawakened national consciousness of China! It is understandable that the whole world should hesitate to put a finger in this pie. As a shrewd observer remarked at the outset: "Whatever happens it is bound to be a tragedy." He was right in so far as, with every increase in tension, the hope that the two Far Eastern cultures and that of the West might adjust themselves to each other (the greatest task of the 19th century) becomes more remote, if not impossible.

Compromise Unavoidable

We do not believe that to-day any such process of conquest and assimilation as that of the Ta-Yuan dynasty in China can be repeated; nor even the miracle of a campaign such as Alexander's or the Mongols in India; for that, China's 450 millions are too alert in spite of their fearful losses, and so too are India's 360 millions, who unreservedly sympathise with them. So a compromise will be unavoidable; but it is becoming more difficult from day to day, the more the only forces in China are being fought which could guarantee the results of a peace. For tragedy has it that Japan, in order to overcome the territory won, has to make use of just those elements in the population which it instinctively condemns and despises. Japan fundamentally esteems Chiang-kai-Shek; she only despises the Kuomintang.

There are inevitably the deepest gulfs between the fighting Japanese and the sort of Chinese government which a hastily established Japanese bureaucracy in Peking, Nanking, or Shanghai, can erect. Even the training of a corps of officers and of a body which could improvise a continental civil service represented a task of the first magnitude, which was mostly far beyond the lower army leaders in Japan, and still further beyond the intelligentsia. . . .

World Review

WHERE RUSSIA TOUCHES JAPAN

Outer Mongolia is under Soviet, and Manchukuo under Japanese, control. Russian arms are reaching General Chiang-kai-Shek through Sinkiang.

The Japanese are now faced with the task of giving new life to the overrun territory and people; in Tokyo they realise that this cannot be achieved by means of any grafted technique alone, but only by feeling their way into a foreign racial element, into a national sentiment which is immeasurably more foreign to that of the Japanese than most people imagine who casually glance at a map of the Far East, and which is imbued with an ancient, deeply-wounded national pride, reawakened to an extent unexpected in Japan. . . .

This gigantic task, to which Japan has been plunged for over a year, is, above all, cultural, then economic, and only thirdly military.

TROUBLE OVER FISH

From "Kokumin," Tokyo

TWO hundred and eighty-two fishing grounds, "stabilised" under the Hirota-Karahan Agreement of 1932, constitute the nucleus of the Japanese fishery rights in the Northern seas. The Soviet Government now proposes that of these stabilised fishing grounds, 40 should be closed to Japanese and the rest, numbering 242, should be put up for auction. "Auction" in this case means nothing short of Moscow's design to take over all these fishing grounds. In other words, the Soviet Government intends to exclude all Japanese fishing interests from her seas so as to facilitate the execution of her warlike preparations.

If the Soviet Government adheres to its present unjustifiable attitude, Japan will be forced to resort to "free fishing," as the only course open to her in order to protect her treaty rights. If Russia challenges Japan to war, Japan will take up the challenge, as she is fully prepared for such a contingency. Soviet Russia is gradually being pressed back in Europe. France, who has hitherto been her only European ally, has begun to turn her back on Moscow by cultivating friendlier relations with Germany. Disappointed in Europe, she may be directing her attention more and more to the Far East. If she really believes that Japan can be cowed into submission, her ignorance is pitiful. The Japanese Government must adopt a strong attitude in resisting Moscow's waywardness. The Soviet-Japanese fishery issue is no longer a mere question of Japanese rights and interests; it is an issue which threatens to affect the dignity of Japan as the leader of the projected East Asian bloc.

WAR IF NECESSARY

The following is a Domei (Japanese) Agency report, dated 23.1.39

JAPAN should go to war with Britain and Russia, if necessary, in order to establish "invulnerable hegemony" on the China continent, Dr. Ichiro Kiyose, member of the First Club and former Vice-Speaker of the House of Representatives, declared in a fiery interpellatory address in the Lower Chamber of the Diet this afternoon.

"Mere continuation of diplomatic negotiations with Britain and Russia will be of no avail unless Japan establishes an immovable position in East Asia," Dr. Kiyose said. "Japan must be determined to wage war with them in order to build up invulnerable hegemony on the China continent. What is the determination of the government?"

In reply, the Premier, Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma declared: "I quite agree with Dr. Kiyose's opinion that everything that stands in the way of establishing a new order in East Asia should be overthrown."

What a surprise! John Bull and Marianne announce their marriage. And we thought they were already celebrating their silver wedding!

"Das Schwarze Korps," Berlin

BOYCOTT TELLS

Condensed from a report of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Camden, N.J.

THE boycott movement amongst Chinese residing outside of China has been perfected to an extreme degree.

There are approximately 7,000,000 Chinese scattered through British Malaya, the Netherlands Indies, the Philippines, French Indo-China and Japan.

These overseas Chinese do not, as a rule, become absorbed culturally and politically into the countries where they reside, but retain their connections with China and a strong interest in the affairs of the mother country.

At the same time, these nearby low-income countries form an important part of Japan's export market, accounting for 12 per cent of Japan's exports in 1937. Normally, therefore, overseas Chinese buy a not inconsiderable quantity of Japanese goods and the strategic position of Chinese merchants gives them a measure of control over native consumers.

This favourable position is being exploited to the limit by these Chinese in applying the boycott to all Japanese goods.

Since July, 1937, there has been in progress amongst the Chinese in south-east Asia a strong, organised movement to boycott Japanese goods, in part spontaneous and in part directed and organised from China.

In addition to active propaganda, public demonstrations, etc., pressure is brought to bear on recalcitrants by picketing the stores of merchants who handle Japanese goods and by a system of fines which swell the campaign fund collected from the wealthier residents.

Apparently the movement has been strongest in the Straits Settlements, where the Japanese complain it has been aided by the "connivance" of the British authorities and the English-language Press.

The statistics of Japanese trade in these countries amply bears out the success of the movement. While Japanese exports to all the countries outside the yen bloc declined by 40 per cent in the first eight months of 1938, they declined 54 per cent to south-east Asia.

The institute estimates that Japan's losses in exports in this area so far this year have averaged about 20,000,000 yen a month.

Japan's loss, of course, has been the gain of her competitors. In British Malaya, for example, while Japanese imports were falling off 74 per cent, imports from Europe rose by 19 per cent.

IS AUSTRALIA DEFENCELESS?

What Japan Could Do

From a letter by Commander Geoffrey Rawson, Royal Indian Navy (Retd.), Melbourne, in "Pacific Affairs," Camden, N.J.

AUSTRALIA and New Zealand, the most remote and unprotected of the British Dominions, now feel more defenceless than ever. They must rely more and more on themselves. In some future European crisis Britain might be unable to aid them on a large scale. Even if aid were attempted, the increasing danger of the route through the Mediterranean and Red Sea might bring a British fleet to an end as disastrous as that of Admiral Rojdestvenski's squadron in the Russo-Japanese War. Britain's naval strength beyond Singapore in now negligible compared with that of Japan. Indeed there is as yet no indication that a powerful British battle squadron will be permanently based on Singapore for possible action in the Pacific.

Orthodox maritime strategy is still based on the theory of the "big ship." Without a single British battleship operating beyond Singapore it cannot be claimed that Britain commands even the fringe of the Pacific. Japan has nine or ten battleships in these waters and could, therefore, secure naval command at any moment. Britain has 15 modern or modernised battleships, five more being built and two projected, a total of 22 for the next four or five years. Only then will it be seen whether Britain will feel strong enough in the West to detach a battle squadron for permanent service in the East, based on Singapore and strong enough to prevent an attack on Australia and New Zealand. This is rather too distant and indefinite a future to reassure Australia and New Zealand, which are pressingly concerned with 1939 and 1940—the "dangerous interval" as it has been termed.

The British Navy List of August, 1938, shows the following total British strength in Eastern waters: the Fifth Cruiser Squadron in China Waters (four 8-inch gun cruisers); the Eighth Destroyer Flotilla (8 vessels); the Fourth Submarine Flotilla (14 vessels). In addition there is the Australian Cruiser Squadron of three ships, plus two New Zealand cruisers. The total combined strength is quite inadequate for serious resistance to the Japanese Navy. All of the cruisers would be obliged to seek safety in flight and the destroyer and submarine flotillas would

be overwhelmed. For the present and immediate future Japan commands the Eastern seas. Attack on Australia and New Zealand could either take the form of military invasion on a large scale, or the more restricted form of an attack on trade routes and shipping, blockade, and the bombing and bombardment of ports.

Isolation is Possible

Invasion in force may, I think, be discounted. It would necessitate a gigantic armada of transports, troop ships and "train." The line of communications would be long, the effort great and protracted, almost the entire Japanese merchant fleet would have to be employed, the strain on Japanese resources and national fabric would be intolerable, and there would be no guarantee of ultimate success. The other form of hostile action would be more favourable for Japan, which already holds the command of the sea in these regions. A portion of its great fleet would be enough to isolate Australia, particularly if one or more battleships form the spearhead of the attack, supported by cruiser, destroyer and submarine screens. For the oil fuel supply that would be vital it is reliably stated that Japan has built a number of 18-knot tankers. In addition there would be the probable capture of oil tankers on their way to Australia.

The Japanese would first have to clear the seas of British cruisers, whose commanders could not hope to oppose the Japanese battleships successfully and would therefore be obliged to evade action. Japan could thus cut the Australian trade routes at will, tie up all shipping and blockade the "nodal points" where overseas and coastal shipping converge. The complete stoppage of oil imports into Australia would be a serious deprivation, and in addition Newcastle, Sydney, Melbourne and other cities would be exposed to bombing and bombardment.

The sea-borne export and import trade of Australia, with an average annual value of $800 million, would be suddenly interrupted. Australia depends on exports of wool, wheat, meat, metals, and other products, on which the whole structure of the Commonwealth is based. Australia could still survive, however. It could not be starved or forced into submission within a few months or even a few years. Except for oil, its economy could be made self-sufficient. In a prolonged blockade the strain on Japan would gradually become more serious than on Australia, because the Japanese vessels, cruisers and supplies would have to be

maintained at war level in all weathers on the high seas, at great distances from home bases. Even if Britain or some other Power were not ultimately able to intervene, the result would probably be negative, with Australia suffering but not subdued, ruined but not destroyed.

Demands That Would Be Made

Australian spirit and morale might be stiffened and strengthened by the experience, although on the other hand the devastating effects on the national structure, especially if Britain were long prevented from intervening, might be sufficiently depressing to lead to negotiations between Australia and Japan. In that case what demands would Japan make? Although it has never seriously pressed them, Japan has complaints against Australia both in the matter of trade and in the matter of immigration. Trade relations have been both friendly and unfriendly. Japanese bidding at the annual Australian wool sales helps to keep up the price of wool. Japan has always bought more from Australia than Australia from Japan. On the other hand the Australian tariff on Japanese rayon, cotton, and other goods is high. Finally, Australia hopes for an increasing future market in Japan, the "New China," and other eastern areas for its export surplus, the principal Australian export market in Britain having reached the saturation point. Japan might therefore demand a lower tariff and improved markets for Japanese goods in Australia, or even an exclusive market in the Commonwealth. There remains the fundamental question of Japanese immigration and settlement in Australia, which might even involve a demand for the cession of territory. On this fundamental issue there is no indication that Australia is likely to yield. "White Australia" is the foundation of Australian policy. Not unless utterly defeated would Australia agree to a breach in that inviolable law. It is at least conceivable, however, that a naval blockade might so ruin the economic fabric and political structure of Australia that it would be unable to prevent the landing and settlement of large numbers of Japanese.

The following comment was made by the Editor of "Pacific Affairs" (Mr. Owen Lattimore) on the above:

Evidently in Australia, as elsewhere, one way of shelving the issue of "what to do about Japan," is to use the scare of "defencelessness," in order to justify armaments that might be used against Japan in some

indefinite future. Commander Rawson does not even discuss the point that a navy can make no conquests without an army. Japan could not possibly send an army to Australia while entangled in the present hopeless attempt to conquer China. This is not simply a question of manpower. Even if Japan had the men to spare, it is not industrially equipped to arm and maintain them.

The fact of the matter is that Australia and New Zealand have no need to be frightened by their own "defencelessness." They are in a good position to join in international pressure on Japan, while Japan is in no real position to intimidate them.

JITTERS IN AUSTRALIA TOO?

The Nazi organisation in Australia is growing at an alarming rate. Germans are coming in steadily. They are enlisting as stewards and seamen on vessels Australia-bound and deserting on arrival. Nazis also are coming here from Java as Dutchmen. It is possible to become a naturalised Dutchman at a cost of 30s. after only six months' residence in Holland or a Dutch possession.

Nazis are pouring into Holland and Java, which is close to Darwin. If the Dutch migration scheme is approved by the commonwealth government more Germans will arrive. Hitler is also sending Nazis to Australia as Jewish migrants.—*"Labour Daily," Sydney.*

"Sydney Bulletin"

"We always get this trouble in the mating season."

HELP FROM DEMOCRACY'S FOES

From "The Statesman," Calcutta, 13.2.39

The Congress, the Home Rule party which captured seven out of eleven provinces at the elections under the new Constitution, is ready to seek help from the fascist enemies of democracy, says this organ of British opinion in India. Mr. Subhas Bose, the Congress President, would no doubt repudiate the suggestion that he had fascist sympathies, and Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru, the active ex-President, is an advanced socialist. At the Congress meeting in March, the motion to present an ultimatum to Britain was not carried

HINDUS and Moslems murder each other in Cawnpore. Mr. Gandhi calls for war throughout the States of India. *Kisans* are in revolt against one Congress Ministry in Bihar, Trade Unionists against another in Bombay, Moslems conduct civil disobedience against Mr. Gandhi's education schemes in the Central Provinces, Hindus conduct it against the enforcement of Hindi in Madras. Schoolboys and students conduct it all over the place. Indians in Ceylon are driven to oppose self-government for the Island because they say that minorities are oppressed. From Burma comes a bitter Indian cry to the same effect and a demand for protection. Liberty is sinking through lawlessness and democracy is dying of disorder. So rampant is the larger lunacy that the worse things become the happier do our optimistic revolutionaries feel. The situation, writes a delighted Congress contemporary, is indeed not hopeless and it goes on to count its blessings, which are sure to bring *Swaraj* in no time. "Dark clouds are gathering on the horizon. There is unrest in the Indian States. In some of these there is evidence of vulgar and brutal exhibition of prowess. There is the British Imperialist diligently engaged in playing the game. The storm has burst." There is even better news than this. "The Congress is in a position of vantage. Outside the British Lion has ceased even to roar. We must strike the iron while it is hot." "Wrecking tactics have been displaced by sleepy and supine co-operative partnership. There must be an end of this inconsistent indecent reformism exhibited in the name of revolutionary leadership."

On the morrow of Munich *The Times* correspondent in Jerusalem telegraphed the warning that a great impetus had been given to terrorism. The same week notable leaders appeared in the Dublin papers arguing that the Irish case for incorporating Ulster was much clearer than that of the Sudeten Deutsch in Czecho-Slovakia and that the border must go. It is no fallacy but grim reality to connect the destructive mania exhibited by the I.R.A. would-be terrorists now operating in England with the success of naked force as wielded by Hitler and Mussolini. Everywhere the discontented are rallying to the dictators' side and to their aid. Mr. Subhas Bose, the President of the Congress, came under their spell when in Europe and for a time preached openly the doctrine of fascism. We have reason to believe that its excesses in Abyssinia and in Europe subsequently altered his views, but there is little doubt that in the coming struggle of the world to maintain some liberty for the common man many Congressmen are for collaborating with the enemies of democracy and openly advocate it in the Press.

Nazi Activities

The Dictators without scruple accept the help of so-called socialists and democrats. Hitler has conscientiously explained in his book that the essence of successful propaganda is its brazenness, and that it need have no regard for or connexion with truth. Indians to him are "jabbering Orientals" but he is delighted to use "jabbering Orientals" for their own destruction. *The Hindustan Standard* from which we have been quoting above, only the day before it published the article referred to gave its readers some account of German propaganda in India under the heading "Nazi Eyes on British Empire." It gave the name of the German head of a bureau set up in Bombay, stated that a centre had been opened in Aligarh University, and enumerated other active propaganda measures. On the same page there appeared an article under the headings "Herr Hitler and the Arabs. Vigorous Propaganda in the Far (?Near) East. Hatred of British Giving Greater Impetus." This was a detailed account, by the paper's own Near Eastern correspondent, Sheikh Salem Abud, which concluded "These are the plans of German fascism. The actual steps towards their execution may be seen not only in the activities of agents behind the scenes, but in the consignment of arms which arrive in Palestine addressed to Arab terrorist organisations. Germany is endeavouring not only to recruit as many agents for itself as possible

among the Arab revolutionaries but to supply them with arms in order that at a given moment the 'uprising in the desert' may be repeated, this time to the detriment of the British Empire."

The Fate of Dictators' Friends

Our contemporary's correspondent has himself no illusions and says, "What this friendship on the part of Italo-German fascism is really worth, aiming as it does at the subjugation of the Arabs, is well known to the Arabs in the East." Those who accept the help of enemies who aim at their subjection cannot forever escape the consequences of folly. . . . If the democracies go down the Congress friends of the dictators who are now working for them will for ever more hold their peace. The silence of death will descend upon them and they will have self-determined their end.

We do not contemplate such an end, for we know well that Britain is not decadent. It is her trouble that through patience and a slow-gathering nature she misleads others and allows dangerous situations to develop. . . . To-day there is the appearance of vacillating policy in Britain, but we may be sure that as it was before so it will be again. In India those who use the language of liberty but are tempted to play with

Germany has concluded a barter agreement for South African wool.

"Natal Mercury," Durban

the tools of its destruction have not the excuse of an administration unaware of the times in which we live. His Excellency the Viceroy in grave and solemn language has several times warned the country of the world dangers we confront. But on all hands we see the effort to disintegrate India, and in the very name of nationality to split it into fragments. Now is the time for abatement of old passions in face of new dangers.

INDIAN MUSLIMS SUPPORT ARABS

Strong support for the Arab cause in Palestine has been expressed by Indian Muslims, of whom there are 90 millions. An "All-India Palestine Day" was held in February, on which resolutions were passed declaring solidarity with the "United Arab Front of Egypt, Palestine, Sa'udi Arabia, Yemen, Transjordania and Syria." Here is an abstract from the statement sent by the Muslim League to Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India:

THE history of Palestine during the last 20 years leaves no room for doubt that Great Britain has not only failed to protect, much less to advance, the interests of the people placed under its charge as a trust of civilisation, but has exceeded the limits imposed upon it by the mandate by regarding the country as part of the British Empire. It has made no attempt to encourage the development of self-governing institutions as required by the Covenant of the League of Nations.

It is common knowledge that at the time of the cessation of hostilities the Jewish population of Palestine was less than 50,000. By the importation of astonishingly large numbers of Jews the figure has now reached nearly 450,000, which is almost 30 per cent of the total population. This policy, in the view of Muslim-India, lends itself to the suspicion that its object is to stifle the national growth of Arabs, by the creation of a Jewish State or, failing that, by the creation of a dangerous minority problem in the very heart of Arab Lands. . . .

It may also be pointed out that the application of the principle of self-determination should be uniform in character and based on a recognition of equality among peoples. It will spell disaster if the idea gains currency that there is one set of scales and measures for white nations

and another for non-white peoples and that invidious distinctions are made between Europeans and Asiatics. If it is intended that the nations of the world progress towards universal peace and brotherhood, every discrimination on the basis of colour or race must be put down ruthlessly. . . .

The re-establishment of friendly relations between the British Empire and the Arabs will be welcome to the Muslims in India, who are anxious to avoid a repetition of situations in which there is a likelihood of a clash of loyalties.

NO REPRESENTATION IN LONDON

THE Moslem League Party in the Central Assembly at New Delhi passed the following resolutions:

1. "That the British Government has done a great injustice to Moslems of India, who are vitally interested in Palestine and Jerusalem, which was their first 'Quibla,' by refusing them a representation at the Conference specially when the Jews of countries other than Palestine have been given such representation.

2. "That Moslems of India were given solemn promises by the British Government during the Great War that the Holy places of Islam, including Palestine, will remain intact in the hands of Moslems and that the sole object of the British Government in carrying on war in Palestine was to liberate the Arabs from the yoke of Turkish domination and to give them full independence, on account of which Moslems of India shed their blood in Palestine and helped the British Government with their money.

3. "That these solemn promises should not have been forgotten, specially when India was made a signatory to the Versailles Treaty, on account of the great sacrifices made by the Moslems of India, and the important part played by them during the Great War. That their interest in Palestine and its future should not have been minimised simply because their man-power was not at the present moment required to keep the peace in Palestine."

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RED RUIN AHEAD
Gandhi on Congress Corruption

by MAHATMA GANDHI

From "Harijan," Bombay, 28.1.39

MY time and that of co-workers is largely taken up in wading through complaints about corruption among Congressmen. . . . Besides impersonation there is the wholesale tampering with Congress registers which contain bogus names. These registers have as much value as a box containing counterfeit coins though it is claimed to contain rupees. Strife at Congress elections is becoming a common occurrence. Indiscipline of Congressmen is on the increase everywhere. . . .

Rome's decline began long before it fell. The Congress which has been nursed for over 50 years by the best brains of the country, will not fall the moment it has begun to decay. It need not fall at all, if corruption is handled in time.

In my opinion the greatest work before the Congress will be to deal with this four-fold process of decay. We are yet far from our goal. We shall be no nearer it, if we are not sure of our means and their meaning and implications. When the real time comes we shall be found wanting. If I was called upon to lead, say, an army of civil resisters, I should be unable to shoulder the burden. This is a big admission to make. But I should be guilty of cowardice, and worse, if I did not make it. Though there is non-violence enough among the masses, there is not enough among those who have to organise the masses. Even as a banker cannot run a bank if he has nothing in his chest, so can a general not lead a battle, if he has no soldiers on whom he can rely implicitly.

Let no Congressman blame me for thinking aloud. Though I am not in the Congress, I have not ceased to be of it. Congressmen still expect me to give the call when in my opinion the time for action has come. What is more, if God wills it I feel I have enough strength and energy in me to lead a battle much more strenuous than any I have fought. But there are Saharas in the way. I have mentioned one which Congressmen can see, touch and handle. The Congress would not be harmed by my having lifted the curtain and exposing our ugliness to the public gaze. It would be harmed if knowing the truth I hid it from the public.

Out of the present condition of the Congress I see nothing but anarchy and red ruin in front of the country.

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

LIVE AND LET DIE

DISGRACE ABOUNDING. By Douglas Reed. *Cape.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by AYLMER VALLANCE

BOOKS written with blood and tears, in fragments of time snatched between journeys as newspaper correspondent, are apt to be turgid, diffuse and repetitive. From all these faults Mr. Douglas Reed's sequel to *Insanity Fair* suffers in full measure; yet it is a book which must be read, whose pages are the testament of a dying type—an honest and passionately sincere lover of common men, endowed with knowledge and ability to write.

His objective forecast of common humanity's destiny is pessimistic, and he loathes his own predictions. Hence the bitterness which pervades the book. "Watch Prague," he writes. On the day *Disgrace Abounding* was published, German troops had occupied Bohemia; the Czecho-Slovak Republic had been ground under the heel of Hitler's *Machtpolitik.* Touring Central Europe before and after the Munich "settlement," Mr. Reed found little to comfort democrats. After the Chamberlain-Daladier capitulation over Czecho-Slovakia, the logical future, he foresees, is an age of "ratting." With Britain and France mutually distrustful of each other, and the U.S.S.R. regarded as a Bolshevik outcast by the propertied English ruling class, there is no effective opposition visible in face of a German sadistic drive to world hegemony.

Mr. Reed is an opinionated man. His thesis that England is in danger of being injuriously influenced by the Jews who are flooding London is one with which I, who have seen something of the insolent truculence and sharp practices of the wealthy English Semite, heartily agree. Others, knowing less of Jewish hubris, may differ. Where I feel doubts as to the accuracy of Mr. Reed's diagnosis is in respect to his contention that the English bourgeoisie are determined to betray, out of class-antagonism, everything that a million Englishmen died in 1914-18 to serve. This is too crude a conclusion. Let it be conceded that "anti-Red" prejudice is a powerful factor in our upper-class political psychology; Mr. Reed, who is the victim of a school-tie inferiority complex, goes too far in investing Mr. Chamberlain's naiveté with cloven hooves and tail.

In *Insanity Fair* Mr. Reed, who knows his Central Europe, foresaw events to whose coming our Foreign Office was blind. Time will show whether his present forecast of illimitable German aggression is right, and whether he correctly judges the likelihood of indefinite British surrender. So far, Britain has evaded trouble by acting on the cynical principle of "Live and let

die"—at the expense of smaller nations who once, erroneously, imagined that England's honour was a market asset. The Whitehall tune may change to a major key—a possibility which Mr. Reed rather unfairly describes as a conceivable determination "to make Berlin safe for the Jews" who owned the pre-Hitler brothels for perverts. As an alien born north of the border, I find myself unable to predict England's reactions to future moves on the Continent which, themselves, are even more unpredictable. I hope Mr. Reed's dismal conclusion—"the twilight thickens"—is wrong, but I have an uncomfortable feeling that it may be right. In any event, he has given us a hurried but vital picture of Central Europe in flux, looking vainly for help from an England too shoddy, irresolute and bewildered to play a decisive part. To the politically constipated I commend this book as a complacency-solvent dose of castor oil.

UMBRELLA V. REVOLVER

FALLEN BASTIONS. By G. E. R. Gedye. *Gollancz.* 16*s.*

Reviewed by

LT. COMMDR. R. FLETCHER, M.P.

CENTRAL Europe knows no more conscientious or competent newspaper correspondent than Mr. Gedye. Here is easily the best volume he has yet to his credit, a book about the fall of Austria and of Czecho-Slovakia written at white heat but in which accuracy is never deliberately made to yield to anger, although Mr. Gedye makes no attempt to conceal his anger with Mr. Chamberlain. *Fallen Bastions* will keep its place as a reference book for the student of the facts about Munich; it is also full of vivid descriptive writing. Witness the account of the fateful meeting between Hitler and Schuschnigg, the blistering portrait of "that entertaining rogue," von Papen, and of the swaggering young bully, Edda's Ciano. Here is an end of the hoary myth of Viennese *Gemütlichkeit.* Following the annexation of Austria the passions were unleashed, the soul of Vienna was laid bare. Mr. Gedye has put the picture on record and it turns the heart faint. The Viennese plumbed depths of bestial cruelty such as no German ever attained to. There are passages of horror here which I doubt if the apostles of the policy of "appeasement" and "sweet reasonableness" will have the courage to read. No one who has not read them can fully know the mentality which Nazism has bred and Munich has fostered. There are wild beasts loose in Europe to-day.

The bastions upon which the British Commonwealth of Nations rests are called international law, respect for treaties, sanctity of contracts, the Covenant of the League, collective security. They are still standing, even if some of them are, Pisa-like, leaning. But what are their foundations like after the Munich upheaval? Will they stand any strain or will they fall one by one at the blast of the totalitarian trumpets?

TEUTON COLONISERS

GERMANS IN THE CAMEROONS. By Harry R. Rudin. *Cape.* 15*s.*

THE GERMANS AND AFRICA. By Evans Lewin. *Cassell.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by LEONARD BARNES

BOTH these books are serious studies, with pretensions to scholarship and a basis of extensive knowledge. Mr. Rudin is Assistant Professor of History at Yale University, and Mr. Lewin is Librarian of the Royal Empire Society. The former has had free use of the German colonial archives; and since no other country but pre-Hitler Germany has had the generosity to permit such use, it happens that

Mr. Rudin's is the first study of any part of tropical Africa to be based on full documentary material from official sources.

Mr. Rudin aims at giving a full-length portrait of modern imperialism at work. Although he treats of one colonising power only and of one small area in West Africa, his concern is with elements common to all colonial imperialism. One might call it a case study of the course of a disease. Certainly the picture he presents is appalling enough.

Yet his book is by no means an attack on German imperialism, or indeed on imperialism in general. He realises that there were evils in Germany's administration of her colonies. But he considers that fundamentally these evils were neither greater than nor different from those existing in any other colonial system. He finds that "Germany's colonial accomplishments constitute a real and unusual achievement and entitle her to very high rank as a successful colonial power, a view quite different from that reached in 1919."

Mr. Rudin does not make it perfectly clear whether he reaches this judgment out of gratitude to the German authorities who let him see their papers, or on a summing up of the facts which he himself gives. Among these facts we learn that Germany never fully "pacified" her natives. From the beginning to the end of German rule in the Cameroons, there was scarcely a year without open hostilities in some part of the country. In 1914 the most important and advanced tribe was on the verge of rebellion. When war broke out, the Germans "believing," as Mr. Rudin puts it "in prevention as well as in punishing what was regarded as high treason" hanged their enlightened Paramount Chief, Manga Bell.

Nevertheless, Mr. Rudin takes pleasure in the fact that the German documents show a refreshing candour. Many even of those which were published make damaging revelations with great frankness, and none at all exasperate the reader with complacent chatter about the burden of the white man's trusteeship.

Apart from the valuable detailed information which he provides, Mr. Rudin beyond question establishes two things, which it would be well for us to bear in mind at the present juncture of international affairs. First, that all imperial powers prove to be much of a muchness in their dealings with subject races; and second, that while there may be a conclusive case against returning colonies to Germany, that case does not rest on any special maladministration of Germany's colonies before the great war.

In *The Germans and Africa*, Mr. Evans Lewin rejects both these judgments. He takes his stand instead on the simple ground that British imperial behaviour is snow-white and German imperial behaviour jet-black. For this

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reason the publishers describe his book as "neither tendentious nor biased." Characteristic of his approach is his account (p. 130) of the German campaign against the Hereros of South West Africa. The Germans resolved to exterminate this tribe, he thinks, because they lacked the psychological subtlety for understanding native sentiment. Native wars waged by the British, Mr. Lewin goes on, have on the other hand never been wars of extermination because Britons "have the faculty of correctly gauging native feeling."

The book was first published in 1915 and has been re-written for the present issue; but Mr. Lewin has not contrived to revise away the crude patriotic emotions of the war period.

NOT QUITE INDIA

INDIA OF THE PRINCES. By Rosita Forbes. *Gifford.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE TRUE INDIAN. By C. F. Andrews. *Allen and Unwin.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

WHAT ABOUT INDIA? By L. F. Rushbrook Williams. *Nelson* (*Discussion Books*). 2*s.* 0*d.*

Reviewed by EDWARD THOMPSON

INTRODUCTIONS gave Miss Rosita Forbes the run of princely hospitality, an interesting but not unusual experience. She has written a book abounding in errors which the context shows come from trusting memory and hearsay: "the god Vishnu, one of whose doctrines, Ahimsa, forbids the taking of any form of life": "Matthew Arnold's *Light of Asia*": "Satyagrana" (Satyagraha): "Jalhanwala" (Jalianwala): "Montague" (Edwin Montagu): "Akhalis" (Akalis): "Kaiserling" (Keyserling): "Barbar" (Babar): "Narayam" (Narayan).

Ranjit Singh did not die in 1830, but in 1839. She accuses the Holkar of Curzon's time of a murder that took place twenty years later. She habitually speaks of the National Congress as if its members ought to be in jail. Someone should draw her attention to the fact that Congress is now His Majesty's Ministry in seven provinces; also, to the fact that there are poverty and misery in India. "In Patiala I slept in a bed plated with gold. My apartment consisted of five rooms for my sole use." "Spotlight shooting was great fun. In three or four cars, taking different roads, we careered through the jungle, one of us leaning out with a torch, the other rifle ready. As soon as we saw two eyes, we tried to put in a shot between them." The Maharaja of Bikaner, " 'is a very remarkable man. He can shoot a thousand grouse in a morning and return to the business of the day which is work. If there were a few like His Highness in Congress India, there would be a lot more done and'—the elderly man permitted himself the suggestion of a wink—'a great deal less said.' I thought it was an excellent summary . . . and I quoted for the appreciation of my companion, who enjoyed apposite speech, an Arab proverb which runs: 'First think, then act, then—if you must—speak.' "

She patronises not Indians only, but everyone else.

" 'The Mahatma has always struck me as being sincere,' I said. 'Like Hitler and Roosevelt. But they all feel too much.' I thought that all these men, with whom I have talked at length, feel too much to be consistent. They are quite genuinely convinced of one thing on Monday. On Tuesday, another aspect of the affair has occurred to them. On Wednesday they are overwhelmed and excited by a flood of ideas and on Thursday a completely new one has taken possession of their minds." Most people would say these three men had been remarkably consistent over a period of years!

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I know how deeply Mr. Andrews realises India's poverty and wretchedness: a mass of physical unhappiness on all sides. *The True India,* however, seems to me below his best. He has written it to confute the unfairness of *Mother India.* I think that issue is dead. Sensible Indians have long accepted that book for what it was, grossly hostile and unjust, but a jolt that did them good.

I expected also something better than *What about India?* from its author. Sometimes it is very good Rushbrook Williams, as in the account of India's attitude when the War came, written straight from experience and conviction: at other times, a summarisation from views that would have passed thirty years ago, but are not good enough for a mind as fine as his to-day. There is an occasional slip: *"The Brothers,* by Tagore" must mean the selection published under that name, by the India Society, from the novel *Svarnalata,* by Taraknath Ganguli, who died when Tagore was in his teens.

BRASS HAT IN SPAIN

I HELPED TO BUILD AN ARMY. By José Martín Blázquez. *Secker and Warburg.* 15*s.*

Reviewed by JOHN MARKS

THIS book, the civil war memoirs of a Spanish Republican staff-officer, translated into casual English by Franz Borkenau and Eric Mosbacher, with a valuable introduction by the former, himself the author of the best political survey of the war as seen in the Republican camp, is among the half-dozen most readable and revealing documents of all the eighty-odd volumes that have been written on the subject. What Major Blázquez has to tell us is interesting for three reasons: it displays to perfection the mentality of the rabid liberal democrat (a type comparatively rare in Spain; Judge Vilaplana, who wrote *Burgos Justice,* also belongs to it, but his literary gifts fall far short of the Major's); as the title suggests, *I Helped to Build an Army* deals with the most important function of any that fell to the lot of the Loyalists, military or civilian, in this war; and although it refers only to the period from Autumn 1934, when the author took an unwilling part in the repression of the Asturian revolt, to mid-summer 1937, when he "had the honour to be a deserter from the civil war," it is now—following the Communist revolt—again especially topical. For it deals with the gradual emergence from "popular" revolutionary chaos of a disciplined "patriotic" army—an Army of the Proletariat but really built by one party. That party, the Communists, won this regular soldier's approval when it co-operated with the military in constructive action, rather than linger with the Socialists in a bellicose welter of words or join the Anarchists in fervent free-for-all destruction. A worshipper of Azaña, Major Blázquez had no use for Largo Caballero, admired Prieto, and soon found his distrust of the Communists changed to soldierly appreciation. His life was threatened by the Anarchists; the men he liked serving—Menéndez, Saravia, Asensio—were displaced; Miaja only after long neglect was given a job; later, he says, under the leadership of Dr. Negrin, "the political situation greatly improved"—but by then the Major, who wanted above all that "Spaniards should cease slaughtering each other," had flown away to France. If he had stayed at his post, and had survived, it is probable that he would have objected as strongly to the Communist grip on the Government of his beloved Republic as to the cretinous outlook he imputes to his former comrades who followed Franco. There can be little doubt that he would have supported

Casado, Miaja and Besteiro against Negrin, del Vayo and La Pasionaria.

But, even apart from his political views and the interesting details he gives of his work at the War Office in Madrid and Valencia, his book makes fascinating reading as a fluent and vivid history of highly dramatic events. It reveals an articulate, strict and witty personality—obviously sincere, and clear-sighted; but a man passionately in love with his own views and liable to exaggerate with the fullest conviction. His sponsor, Mr. Borkenau, corrects his perspective and presents a wider picture of the antagonisms and mistakes of the Left that have lost them the war—yet Major Blázquez's experiences are sharper and equally instructive, for he was in the thick of it, in a position of responsibility.

VOILÀ UNCLE SAM!

I THINK ALOUD IN AMERICA. By Odette Keun. *Longmans.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by M. McDougall

Mdlle Keun is more serious than most Europeans who write up their impressions of America. Disgusted with Europe, despairing of its future, she believed that the mantle of Occidental civilisation would fall on America and went there to see if her hope and faith in its future were justified. She was disillusioned to a certain extent. "My gorge rises against both god-awful continents!" she is driven to exclaim. "One of them already diseased, the other jumping at the chance of catching the same rottenness." She discovers the United States to be more a plutocracy than a democracy, she is appalled by the material standards of success which dominate all aspects of American life, by the political corruption, by the racial and social injustice, by the mediocrity and uniformity of thought, the superficiality of education and the general lack of spiritual values. And yet, despite all this, her final conclusion is still that America will in time assume the leadership of Occidental civilisation, partly because, for geographical reasons, it will always be self-sufficient and invulnerable to attack and therefore can never be less than a Great Power, and partly because it is unalterably democratic, free and individualistic in spirit. It took a wrong turning when the worst form of *laissez-faire* capitalism was allowed to dispossess the workers and coarsen and corrupt the rulers. The best hope, and apparently Mdlle Keun thinks, possibility, for the future is a return to the Jeffersonian dream of an agrarian republic, a nation of small proprietors owning their land or tools, enjoying liberty and genuine self-government.

Not content merely to record her personal observations, Mdlle Keun amplifies them with reading and study. Her powers of insight are amazing (see, for instance, her brilliant summing-up of the

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psychology of American womanhood or of the character of President Roosevelt) and, with her faculty for discovering essential information, they enable her to write the most illuminating analyses of every phase of American life and history, including a succinct account of the New Deal. Written in a vigorous and intensely personal style, this book gives an extraordinarily good idea of what America is really like.

NO BLAMELESS FOOLS

FOREIGNERS AREN'T KNAVES. By Christopher Hollis. *Longmans.* 5*s.*

Reviewed by MARTIN BOYD

MR. HOLLIS gives a very lucid and on the whole fair analysis of the international situation, putting forward opposite views in the letters of two friends. It would be impossible to give proper attention to his political matter in a short notice, and it is also unnecessary as the real argument of the book is the religious one.

Bobby, the young man whose opinions are evidently Mr. Hollis's own, writes: "If the French had been Christians they would never have attempted to ring Germany round with military alliances. If the English had been Christians they would never have blockaded Germany after the Armistice. If the Americans had been Christians they would never have co-operated with London in trying to perpetuate the system of international usury." Very true, but he does not continue: "If Mussolini had been Christian" or "If Franco had been Christian" for Bobby is pro-Italian and pro-Franco, and regards the latter as the champion of Christianity in Spain. Bobby gives expression to the very wide-spread feeling that the only hope for Europe lies is a return to the moral law which is enshrined, but not exclusively, in the Christian religion. But the fundamental doctrine of Christianity and of all morality is to love one's brother as oneself, and we are told that "true religion and undefiled before God is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction" not to machine-gun them from the air, nor to bomb them back into a church which for centuries has kept them poor and ignorant, and which tortured their heretical forefathers. This is the weakness of Mr. Hollis's book. He appears to see no possibility of morality outside "the full acceptance of the historical and metaphysical dogmas of the Christian religion." The answer is only too obvious: "If the Church had been Christian."

BEHIND CHANCELLERY DOORS

DIPLOMACY. By Harold Nicolson. *Thornton Butterworth.* 5*s.*

Reviewed by H. A. ST. G. SAUNDERS

"SPEECH," said Talleyrand, "was given to man only in order to conceal his thoughts."

With this aphorism Mr. Nicolson would certainly not agree. He regards "a scrupulous care to avoid the suggestion of the false or the suppression of the true," as first among the virtues of a diplomat.

At the outset Mr. Nicolson points unerringly to one of the more glaring defects in our modern world of muddled thinking—the tendency to confuse policy with negotiation. He is necessarily discreet as befits one who is writing a text book for budding diplomats, but only a blind worshipper at the shrine of Briand's memory or one to whom an umbrella rather than an olive branch has become the symbol of peace, would disagree with him when he observes that the "highroads of history are strewn with little shrines of peace which have either been left unfinished, or have collapsed when completed, for the sole reason that their foundations were built on the

sands of some verbal misconception. . . . Thoiry, Stresa, Munich—these ruined temples should serve as warnings to young negotiators." At these and other places the negotiations were carried on and the treaties concluded not by trained diplomats but by statesmen who, whatever their qualifications in other fields might have been, were in this field but amateurs.

Mr. Nicolson begins his book by two short chapters on the origins of organised diplomacy and the development of the diplomatic theory.

Mr. Nicolson then passes to the study and analysis of diplomatic theory and is left with the "profound conviction that 'moral' diplomacy is ultimately the most effective and that 'immoral' diplomacy defeats its own purposes." This, however, is not caused by ethical impulses but by common sense which has been the main formative influence. For this reason the worst diplomatists are "missionaries, fanatics and lawyers," and the best "reasonable and humane sceptics."

Mr. Nicolson next describes the transition from the old diplomacy to the new and points out the hard fact that to achieve "open covenants openly arrived at" is, in practice, almost impossible. He reminds us that the Apostle of this ideal when drawing up the Treaty of Versailles, ended by shutting himself up with Lloyd George and Clemenceau, in a room guarded by an American marine with fixed bayonet.

The truth is that open diplomacy is achieved, not by meeting in large, unwieldly conference before excited and perhaps irresponsible pressmen out for a story—this the unhappy League of Nations has found to its own cost—but by such means as the provisions of Article 18 of the Covenant, whereby treaties are only valid when registered and published, and the practice of ratification.

Reading Mr. Nicolson's book has left me with the conviction that diplomacy is an art only to be acquired with long practice and exhaustive training. His chapter on the ideal diplomatist is the kernel of the book. He enumerates the virtues necessary. I have already referred to truthfulness and accuracy, but the rest are scarcely less important. A diplomatist must be calm, which means that he should be good-tempered and quite exceptionally patient. He must be modest and eschew all such "fatal diplomatic indulgences as irony, epigrams, insinuations and the barbed reply." He must be loyal, which is not so easy as it sounds, for he owes loyalty to his own Government and Foreign Office, to his own staff, to the diplomatic body in the country where he resides, to the local British colony and finally to the Government to which he is accredited.

In addition to these qualities, Mr. Nicolson takes for granted that the ideal diplomatist must have intelligence, knowledge, discernment, prudence, hospitality, charm, industry, courage and even tact.

No wonder diplomacy should be left to the professionals.

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Your board has always attached prime importance to the management and maintenance of the Society's Properties. If we buy right, and manage well, your Society cannot fail to prosper. That we *have* bought well is evidenced by the recent valuation of the Society's Properties by Messrs. Phillip Geen and Partners. In view of the fact that the Society will shortly be completing its seventh year, the Directors deemed it advisable to submit the whole of the Society's Properties to independent valuation. Messrs. Phillip Geen and Partners were accordingly instructed to make a valuation of all the Society's Properties, which valuation was completed by them on the 1st December, 1938. I am pleased to say that they valued your Properties at £1,505,350, which shows a surplus of £35,201 2s. 3d. over the total figure at which the Properties stood in the Books of the Society. Your Directors have decided to credit this item (less the cost of valuation) to Capital Reserve.

The careful management of your Properties is reflected in the low percentage of Voids. On 31st December, 1938, vacancies in your Properties were less than 4½%—a figure which compares favourably with the figures of any large-scale Property-owning organisation in the United Kingdom.

STRONG CASH POSITION

A point to which your Directors have always paid special attention is the liquid position of the Society's finances. In previous years our strong cash position has, on a number of occasions, enabled us to take advantage of favourable purchasing opportunities, and the past year has certainly been no exception in this regard. At 31st December, 1938, the Society had Cash in Bank £28,127 8s. 10d. and, in addition, £10,000 in 3½% War Loan, making a total of over £38,000 in liquid assets. Your Directors welcome the statement, made by Sir John Simon in the House of Commons on the 31st January, in which he outlined the Government's attitude towards the question of compensation for damage to Property in the event of War. While your Directors have no doubt that the Government's proposals would operate equitably, and while it is our intention to avail ourselves of every facility which the Government may afford for providing compensation for damage to Property, your Directors have decided to create a War Risks Reserve, as an additional measure of protection. The initial allocation to this War Risks Reserve is £5,000.

INCREASED RESERVES

As you will see from the Balance Sheet, the Society now has Reserves as follows:

War Risks Reserve . .	£5,000	0	0
Reserve Fund . . .	£4,000	0	0
Capital Reserve . . .	£33,601	2	3
Properties Reserve . .	£8,357	10	11
Leasehold Amortisation Reserve	£3,251	2	6

making a total Reserve of £54,209 15s. 8d., leaving £12,492 16s. 6d. to be carried forward to 1939, subject to Directors' Remuneration and Final Dividend for the quarter ended 31st December, 1938, at the rate of 7% per annum —the minimum rate paid by the Society ever since its foundation in 1932.

Ladies and gentlemen, whilst by the nature of our business our figures are never spectacular, you will, I am sure, agree that we have every reason to congratulate ourselves upon the results achieved.

The difficult international situation in 1938 had, as you are aware, serious repercussions on domestic affairs. Nevertheless, our income, consisting as it does of stable rentals, remained unaffected, and the result of the year's working is particularly satisfactory in the circumstances, demonstrating once again the security of "Bricks and Mortar" as an investment for Capital, and its stability as an income-producer. The Report and Accounts were unanimously adopted and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Directors.

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

RECOVERY SHATTERED

by "RAPIER"

Since there seemed no likelihood of Britain's being drawn into war at once over the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia, the Stock Exchange reacted comparatively mildly to the news. Prices fell, it is true, but only to around the level at which they stood a fortnight previously when confidence had started to revive. The announcement that the Government had for the time being forbidden the transfer of the £6¾ million which still remained in London out of the £10 million loan to that defunct country was regarded as an indication that, on this occasion, Britain would take steps to guard her investors and traders against losses due to seizure of her debtors' countries.

The fact that Czecho-Slovakia had a gold reserve of about £25,000,000 (a portion of which is deposited in London) as well as large reserves of foreign exchange, is thought to be certainly one of the major reasons for Herr Hitler's coup. "Germany must export or die" was the drastic expression he used on his last speech to describe the economic position of the Reich. Failing success in the humdrum method of selling goods to acquire *Devisen,* he has recourse to one nearer his heart, and apparently easier to achieve.

The Chancellor's indication that he would continue to raise the bulk of the money needed for rearmament by loans, and that he would not increase the burden of the tax-payer, was welcomed in financial circles, and made an important contribution to the short-lived improvement in sentiment which preceded the news of the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia. It led to renewed and prolonged discussion about the prospects of "Inflation" which found admirable expression in a series of letters to *The Times.* Orthodoxy is no longer the order of the day, and the conclusion to be drawn from a study of the correspondence is that borrowing is not unsound so long as there remains a large body of unemployed, who as a result of borrowing can be put to work. Nor need it be inflationary, except in so far as the proceeds are spent on imports of raw materials for non-productive use, e.g. armaments, and as the artificial stimulus of the armament programme, to the extent that it puts a premium on skilled labour and interferes with the normal functioning of industry, may cause a rising price level for manufactured goods, to the detriment of the export trades.

Export or Die

It did not need the coining of a new slogan by the Führer to remind us that the future prosperity of Great Britain, if not her existence, just as much as that of Germany, depends on the re-development of her export trade. In distinction from the present German theory of "fighting" for export trade, British statesmen in the old days, maintaining the historic Free Trade policy which was

at the foundation of their country's greatness as the leading financial power in the world, have always recognised that the increasing prosperity of other nations, even if they be competitors, is of advantage to Great Britain—and in fact Germany was England's best customer before the war, as well as her most successful rival. Meanwhile, the rank growth of economic nationalism has strangled international trade, and it is only recently that a serious effort has been made, led by Cordell Hull for the U.S., to reverse a trend which has shown its power to damage all nations alike.

Prior to March 15th, there were a number of striking attempts on the part of British industry, and of the Government, to create a revival of world trade, and it is recognised that without such a revival the achievement of peaceful relations between the states is not only almost hopeless of attainment, but would if it were attained, result in a disastrous slump in all those countries whose industrial prosperity is now dependent on rearmament.

British and German coal-owners had settled their points of difference and negotiations were to be resumed for the opening of a European coal convention.

The British Industrial Mission which was visiting Germany at the time of Hitler's Czech coup, announced agreement undeterred. But much more significant is Mr. Hudson's tour of the Northern capitals—no pleasure trip, but one which holds out the promise of great developments, of vital importance not alone to Great Britain but to the whole cause of world peace. The inclusion of Moscow in the itinerary is of great significance, especially when taken in conjunction with talk of a defensive Pact with the Soviet Union.

In The Far East

Another example of the determination of the Government to champion the cause of British traders is to be found in the Stabilisation loan of £10,000,000 made to the Chinese Government, the half of it made by The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation and The Chartered Bank with the guarantee of the British Government. This support of the Chinese Government is striking evidence of the intention to uphold British rights to trade in China, and it is said to be "no coincidence" that publication of the agreement appeared the day before the new Japanese currency laws were due to begin to take effect in North China. It is believed that the Japanese attempt to force an alien currency on a hostile population is doomed to failure.

South America

Meanwhile an agreement has been concluded between the U.S. and Brazil, for the extension by the U.S. of important credits which will be used for freeing the exchange market, enabling the Brazilians to make regular payments on their long-term debts in the hands of American investors, and providing for the development of trade between the two countries. The full details of this agreement are not yet available.

Less encouraging has been the imposition of a tax on the export of copper imposed by the Chilean Government, a tax which would weigh most heavily on Anaconda, and to a lesser extent on Kennecott which only mines some 30 per cent of its production of copper in Chile as compared with 70 per cent or more for Anaconda. Some such measure was to be expected from the new Chilean Government, especially in view of the need for funds to repair the ravages of the recent earthquake.

The chief sufferers will obviously be investors in the two companies concerned, but generally speaking the whole world must regret any further additions to the list, already over-long, of "actions in restraint of trade."

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS: FEB. 15—MARCH 16

DEMOCRACIES AND DICTATORSHIPS

With the growth of Great Britain's armaments, the prospect of a major crisis seemed to recede. Her Government stated in Parliament (February 21st) that British co-operation with France in a war would not be on a limited basis, and (March 8th) that 19 divisions would be available to go abroad. New expenditure of £587,000,000 was authorised for defence. The restoration of European equilibrium was aided by the attitude of the United States, which adopted a defence budget of £360,000,000 for 1940, providing for an air strength of 6,000 machines; Senator Pittman (February 21st) ridiculed isolationism and explained the President's policy as being to aid the "oppressed governments" by all means short of war; by February 12th, 1,000 aeroplanes had been sold to France and Great Britain.

In regard to the British "peace offensive," Herr Hitler's standpoint, as authoritatively stated by Admiral Raeder (March 12th), was that Germany needed a "new true peace," but that her "armaments must be strengthened" and that "where an advantage has been gained it will be held."

Failing a political settlement, progress in appeasement between Germany and England was sought by trade discussions: e.g. by the contact between Mr. Ashton Gwatkin and German officials in Berlin, and the discussions, opening at Düsseldorf on March 13th, between German and British industrialists.

The *Popola di Roma's* report (February 23rd), that Mr. Chamberlain would mediate between France and Italy was contradicted by Lord Halifax, who added that Italy had not yet stated her grievances. Any cession of French territory was rejected outright in speeches by M. Daladier (February 22nd) and M. Bonnet (February 26th). France reoccupied (February 18th) the part of Somaliland ceded to Italy under that treaty.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Reacting to the German claim of "preeminent interests," the States in South-Eastern Europe seemed concerned to emphasise their independence. In Hungary, Count Teleki accompanied the signature (February 24th) of the Anti-Comintern Pact, to which his predecessor had committed him, by the arrest of 500 "Hungarist" Nazis and the disbanding of their group; that Hungary maintained her "logical" claim to Carpatho-Russia (Ruthenia) was stated by Col. Beck in the Polish Senate (March 11th). In the Jugo-Slav Skupshtina the foreign minister (March 9th) expressed the whole nation's admiration for the British policy of appeasement. The ministers of the Balkan Entente, who met in Bucharest (February 20th-23rd), though maintaining their objection to any frontier revision, seemed hopeful of the co-operation of Bulgaria and Hungary in resisting German economic domination.

Nazi attacks on Polish students in the Danzig Polytechnic (February 24th) were followed by anti-German demonstrations throughout Poland, evoking a warning in the Reich Foreign Office organ against being swayed by foreign and Jewish influences. The Polytechnic was closed at Poland's demand (February 28th). Count Ciano, who visited Warsaw at this time (February 25th-March 1st), without passing through Berlin, returned almost empty-handed. Col. Beck, though registering Poland's claim to be heard whenever colonies and raw materials were

internationally discussed, declined to renounce her western and eastern alliances, so inconsistent in Italian eyes with her relations to the Axis, or to promise neutrality in a Franco-Italian conflict. On the contrary he made it clear—as M. Bonnet was able to inform the French Senate Committee (March 1st)—that her treaty obligations to France would be fulfilled.

In the Danube Basin, on the other hand, where German trade had captured so many markets, common interests were discovered; the *Gazeta Polska* (February 27th) even wrote that the Vienna award was not a final settlement. The Rumanian foreign minister's visit to Warsaw which followed (March 4th), resulted, in Col. Beck's words, in "deepening their mutual understanding of Danubian territorial questions"; better relations between Hungary and Rumania were discussed.

EXIT CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

After the warning to Czecho-Slovakia in the Führer's speech on January 30th, increased pressure was put upon Prague to conform to Germany's standards in industrial and internal policy. The right of the German minority to live under Nazi laws was asserted by their leader Herr Kundt (February 17th); the Reich Press encouraged the separatist agitation of Dr. Tuka and Herr Karsamin in Slovakia. The toleration of this movement by the Slovak Government caused the Prague Cabinet to intervene in Bratislava (March 10th) to preserve the State's integrity; Dr. Tiso, the Slovak premier, was dismissed, the Hlinka Guard was disarmed by Czech troops and a new ministry was installed. It was quickly apparent that, in German eyes these measures were illegal; Dr. Durcansky, a dismissed minister, directed the Slovak authorities from the Vienna radio station to refuse obedience. Disorders followed, and on March 12th-13th the Czech troops were withdrawn. The German Press now vehemently espoused Dr. Tiso's cause, accusing the Czechs, in familiar phrases, of "terrorism" against the German minority. Dr. Tiso was summoned by Herr Hitler to Berlin (March 13th); on his return he obtained a vote from the Slovak Diet, declaring the independence of Slovakia, which was at once recognised by Germany and Hungary. On the night of March 14th-15th President Hacha arrived in Berlin, having learned *en route* that German troops had already entered Mährisch Ostrau, near Teschen—apparently to forestall a Polish occupation. After a long midnight interview with Herr Hitler he "had no alternative"—in the words of the Prague radio message—but to place his nation under the protection of the Reich which, Herr Hitler promised, would allow it appropriate autonomy. He returned to Prague with a German guard of honour. A proclamation by Herr Hitler then announced that the Czechs had exercised their right of self-determination; German troops would enter Bohemia and Moravia to "assume impartial control" any opposition would be broken down: "whereby," Dr. Goebbels added, "Czecho-Slovakia has ceased to exist." The Prague radio (March 15th, 4 a.m.) informed the Czech people of the capitulation and warned the army not to resist. At 6 a.m. the German armies entered "Czechei" from four directions, sealing the frontiers and demanding the surrender of all arms. General Brauchitsch, their commander, assumed all executive powers assisted, in civil administration, by Herr Henlein, the Sudeten leader, for Bohemia and by Herr Bürckel, the Austrian Commissioner, for Moravia. At 9 p.m. Herr Hitler entered Prague, preceded by his secret police, who made numerous arrests, and the Swastika flew over the Hradschin Palace. The Czech people maintained throughout the same stoical discipline as in October 1938.

A decree of March 16th constituted a "protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia," culturally self-administering but without control of foreign affairs, under a Reich Protector having his seat at Prague; its German inhabitants became citizens of the Reich. On the same day, in response

to a formal request by Dr. Tiso, Herr Hitler declared Slovakia to be a German protectorate.

In the British Parliament Mr. Chamberlain observed (March 15th) that Germany had sent her troops beyond the frontiers which she accepted in the Munich agreement, without consulting her co-signatories, and has occupied territories of people with whom she had no racial affinity. He regarded the British guarantee of Czecho-Slovakia as inoperative in view of the disruption of that state by Slovakia's secession.

At the request of a self-styled "Ruthenian Council" in Budapest a Hungarian army crossed the Ruthenian border (March 13th-14th) and encountered General Prchla's Czech troops. Hungary thereupon sent a 12-hour ultimatum to Prague demanding the withdrawal of all Czech forces. The Prague Government directed its minister, General Prchla, to comply, and most of his troops withdrew into Poland, where they were interned. Dr. Voloshin, the Ruthenian Premier, being summoned to transfer his powers to the Hungarian commander, and having appealed without response to the Reich and Italy as guarantors of the Vienna award, sent delegates to Budapest. The Hungarian troops, overcoming the resistance of Ukrainian National Guards, occupied Chust, the Ruthenian capital (March 16th) and reached the Polish border, thus, with Germany's apparent assent, restoring the old Hungarian frontier. The regained territory of "Carpatho-Ukraine," was declared an autonomous province of Hungary.

SPAIN

After the subjection of Catalonia President Azaña's scattered Government could no longer exercise sovereign authority, and he himself regarded the war as lost. Many governments felt that the time had come to recognise General Franco, who now controlled two thirds of Spain. In the case of Great Britain and France a delay ensued while assurances were sought from General Franco as to the independence of his government and the departure of the 30,000 Italian and some thousands of German "volunteers"; it was hoped that if he would promise clemency, settlement might yet be reached, with the good offices of France in Madrid, enabling a new government to be established by consent. General Franco would, however, do little more than repeat his former assurances that Spain would accept no foreign intervention inconsistent with her sovereignty and that there would be no indiscriminate reprisals; on the latter point his intentions had already been outlined in a decree of February 14th setting up courts for political offenders. But "criminals"—an undefined term—could only expect stern justice from the Nationalists, now more implacable owing to the killing of the Bishop of Teruel and other prisoners during the retreat from Barcelona.

Discussions were prolonged while M. Bérard, the French envoy, concluded agreements at Burgos for the restitution to Spain of the arms of refugees, and of Spanish gold and art treasures and interned ships in French territory. The British and French governments notified their recognition to General Franco (February 27th); the Republican ambassadors in London and Paris reverted to the status of agents. Marshal Petain was appointed ambassador for France (March 2nd) in Madrid and Sir M. Peterson for Great Britain.

In Italy and Germany these discussions, believed to aim at conditional recognition, were watched with suspicion. *Il Duce's* telegram to General Franco (February 22nd) repeated that the Legionaries would remain at his disposal "till final victory"; the *Völkische Beobachter* (February 28th) wrote that Spain would be protected by German and Italian friendship from Anglo-French designs to keep her weak. General Franco, for his part, stated (February 28th) that Spain would never forget the nations that had aided her.

In Tangier authority was transferred (March 2nd) from the Republicans to the Nationalists. By February 27th some 40 governments had recognised General Franco, *de jure* or *de facto*.

On February 28th President Azaña, after rejecting an appeal from Senor del Vayo (February 17th), who then rejoined Dr. Negrin, to return to Spain, had formally resigned; Señor Barrio, President of the Cortes, then in Paris, was announced as having succeeded him (March 1st). Meanwhile Dr. Negrin, to whom powers had been delegated, was attempting to govern in Madrid. His reorganisation of the armies, and the appointment to high commands of Colonel Lister and officers from the Catalan front, aroused discontent. After an attempted revolt at Cartagena (March 5th) Colonel Casado, commanding in Madrid, anticipating arrest, ousted Dr. Negrin and Señor del Vayo, who escaped to Toulouse, and formed a "Defence Council" to which General Miaja adhered next day, having as its programme "peace without crimes" on the basis of a free Spain. Fierce fighting with the communists followed in Madrid and other towns; it ended soon after their leaders capitulated to the Defence Council (March 11th). The bulk of the Republican fleet, forsaking Cartagena, reached French territorial waters, with the loss of three destroyers sunk by aircraft, and were interned at Biserta (March 6th, 7th).

Meanwhile General Franco's armies had moved into position for an offensive, if need be, against the Southern Sector, and food supplies had been accumulated for the starving Madrid population. On March 6th he broadcast a message to Madrid offering clemency "to all who had not committed crimes," but threatening severest punishment for those who prolonged the war.

The grave problem arising for France by the maintenance of 350,000 refugees, of whom about 300,000 were suitable for repatriation, was a little eased (March 11th) by the reopening of the frontier by the Nationalists.

The Nationalist naval wireless (March 8th) announced that the Republican coast was closed and that submarines would sink at sight any ship entering the 3-mile territorial limit. Lord Halifax declared (March 9th) that British warships would, as before, resist any attacks on shipping outside the 3-mile limit, and would retaliate, even within it, against submarines sinking ships without warning.

THE FAR EAST

In the Japanese Diet (February 17th) the Navy Minister denied that the Yangtse was an international waterway and would give no assurance as to the date of its reopening.

In North China the sole legal currency was declared (March 1st) to be the Japanese "yuan," in terms of which all goods cleared through the customs must be financed as from March 10th; to meet this danger to trade a fund of £10,000,000 was subscribed in equal shares by Chinese and British banks—the latter receiving a Treasury guarantee—for the support of the Chinese dollar. With a view, apparently, to enforcing the new exchange control the Japanese blockaded with live wire the British and French concessions at Tientsin, an act against which the consuls-general concerned protested (March 3rd) though without result.

After the murder in Shanghai of a member of the Nanking puppet government the latter declared "silent war" on the British and French settlements (February 26th). Following a threat (February 21st) of "self-defence" by the War Minister in the Japanese Diet, the Municipal Council agreed (March 3rd) that Japanese police might aid the authorities within the settlement in suppressing terrorism, but not act independently. Japan informed Great Britain and France (February 13th) and the United States (February 17th), in answer to their enquiries, that the occupation of Hainan was a blockade measure implying no territorial ambitions, and would not exceed the period of military necessity.

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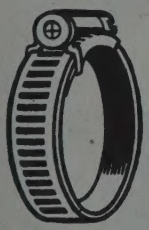

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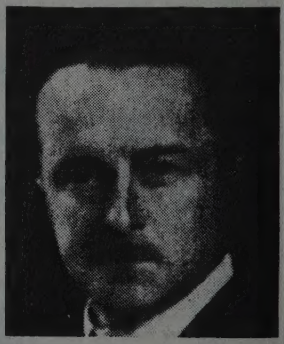

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